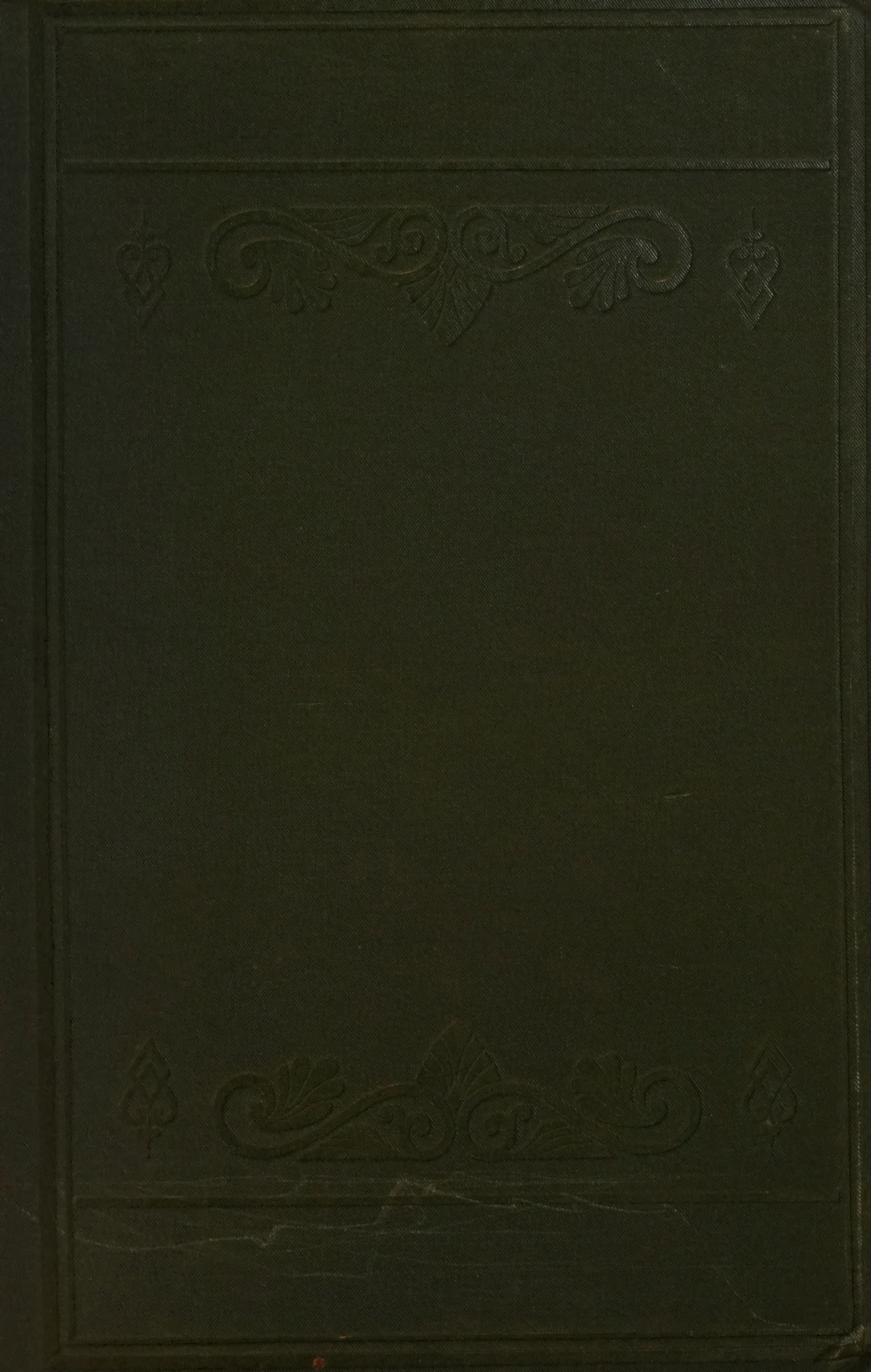

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society

FOR

1898.

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1898.

Edited by A. T. MARTIN, M.A., F.S.A.

VOL. XXI.

BRISTOL:
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY BY J. W. ARROWSMITH, QUAY STREET.

The Council of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society desires that it should be distinctly understood that the Council is not responsible for any statement made, or opinions expressed, in the Transactions of the Society. The Authors are alone responsible for their several Papers and Communications, and the Editor, A. T. Martin, Esq., Rodborough House, Percival Road, Clifton, Bristol, for the Notices of Books.

The Editor wishes to express his acknowledgments to the *Western Daily Press* for its report of the speeches and proceedings at the London Meeting, of which use has been made in preparing this volume.

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TRANSACTIONS OF THE

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society,

At the Spring Meeting at Yate, and Excursion to Iron Acton, Yate Court, Horton, and Little Sodbury,

On Tuesday, June 7th, 1898.

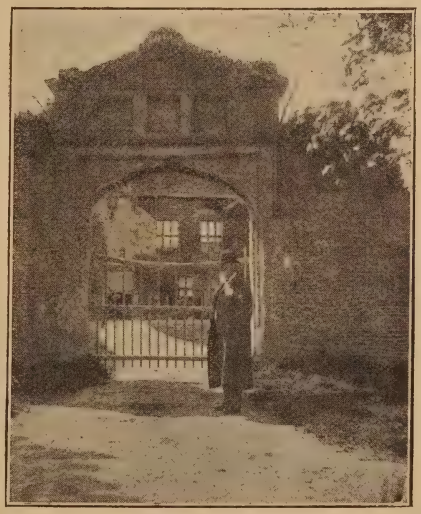
The Society was fortunate enough to have a brilliant day for the Annual Spring Meeting, and though this was not the first visit of the Society to this district, a large number of members assembled at Yate Station soon after 11 a.m., attracted, no doubt, by the excellent programme arranged by the Honorary General Secretary. Those who were present at the meeting which was held at Bath in 1883 were probably pleased to find that this day's excursion covered fresh ground, and included the interesting remains at Yate and Horton.

After the arrival of the trains from Cheltenham, Gloucester, Bath and Bristol, a move was made to the

MANOR HOUSE AT IRON ACTON,

which was carefully described by Mr. Bazeley.

This ancient residence of the Poyntz family, which has been described by Sir John Maclean in his *Memoirs* of that family, and is figured by Lysons in his *Gloucestershire Antiquities*, 1804, No. XLIV., appears to have been rebuilt in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and to have been considerably altered in the reign



IRON ACTON.
ENTRANCE GATE OF MANOR HOUSE.

of Charles I. The large courtyard on the eastern side of the house is entered by a handsome gateway, in the spandrels of which, in low relief, appears the Poyntz crest, *an arm, the fist clenched, issuing out of clouds*, with oak leaves and acorns, badges of the Actons. This arch was probably erected in the time of Charles I. The House, when occupied by the last of the Poyntzes, in the middle of the 17th century, appears to have consisted of a central building facing east and west, with north and south wings, the former of which remains. On comparing the building, as it now appears, with Lysons' view, we find that the eastern façade has been injured during the present century by the removal of the porch in the centre and of the great chimney stack with its internal fireplaces on the south-west. A hundred years ago a huge buttress was erected to protect

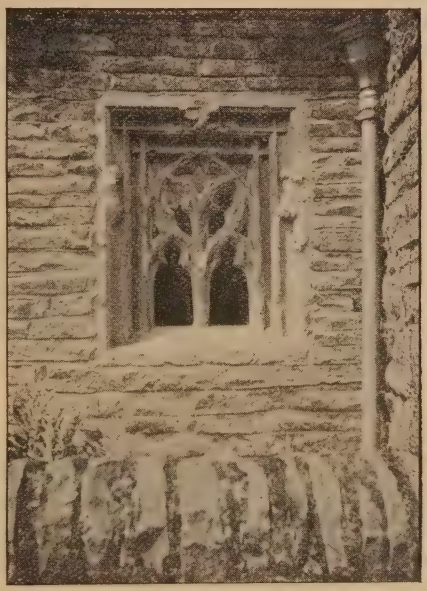
IRON ACTON MANOR HOUSE.

the bulging walls; another has been added lately. The 15th century Perpendicular window, on the extreme left, is said to have lighted the chapel; but there is nothing inside to support the tradition.

On entering the house we find a wide passage running through it from north to south. The large room on the left, said to be the chapel, has been sub-divided by a modern wall, and part of it is now a stable. The room above appears to have been the great hall, and has a parlour, or private dining room for the lord and his family, at the north end. The kitchen and other offices, as shown by a buttery hatch, were towards the north end. On passing round the house we find in the N.E. angle of the quadrangle an octagonal tower with newel staircase and solid oak stairs. Over the doorway of the north wing are carved the Poyntz arms: *barry of*

eight, azure and argent. This wing appears to have contained the private apartments of the lord and his family.

On the site of this Manor House stood the home for many generations of the Actons, the last of whom, Sir John, died in 1344, when the manor and other estates were inherited by his cousin, Maud, the widow of Sir Nicholas Poyntz, of Cory Mallet, Somersetshire, and, on her death, by their son, Sir John Poyntz. John died in 1376, and was buried in the church of this parish. Then followed in direct succession, Robert, who died in 1439, and who, with his two wives, Anne and Katherine, was also buried in the church; Nicholas, who died in 1460; John, who died in 1465; Robert, who died in 1520: Sir Anthony, who died in 1534; Sir Nicholas, who died in 1556; Sir Nicholas, who died in 1585; Sir John, who died and was buried at Acton in 1599; Sir Robert,[1] who greatly altered the Manor House in the reign of Charles I., and died in 1666; and Sir John, the last of the Poyntzes of Iron Acton, who died and was buried in the church in 1680.



From a photograph by Dr. Clarke.

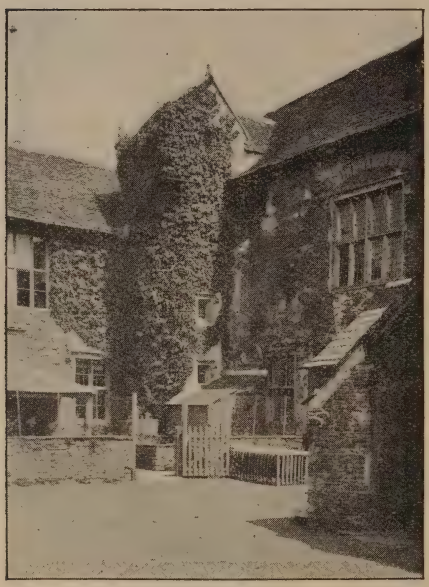
IRON ACTON.
WINDOW IN PORCH OF MANOR HOUSE.

[*This window has been removed from some other place to the porch, which is modern.*]

1 This Sir Robert was a contemporary of the Wiltshire antiquary John Aubrey, who in his *Brief Lives* (edited by Andrew Clark, vol. ii, p. 181) says: "Sir Walter Raleigh was the first that brought tobacco into England, and into fashion.—In our part of North Wilts, e.g. Malmesbury hundred, it came first into fashion by Sir Walter Long. I have heard my grandfather Lyte say that one pipe was handed from man to man round about the table. They had first silver pipes; the ordinary sort made use of a walnutshell and a straw. It was sold then for it's wayte in silver. I have heard some of our old yeomen neighbours say that when they went to Malmesbury or Chippenham market, they culled out their biggest shillings to lay in the scales against the tobacco. Sir W. R., standing in a stand at Sir Robert Poyntz' parke at Acton, tooke a pipe of tobacco, which made the ladies quitt it till he had donne. Within these 35 years 'twas scandalous for a divine to take tobacco. Now, the customes of it are the greatest his majestie hath." Aubrey says that this Sir Robert (*Ibid*, vol. ii., 173), "with whom I had some small acquaintance, was a loyal, sober, and learned person. His study law; chiefly towards the Civil Lawe. Since the King's restoration he published in print a pamphlet about the bignesse of a good playbook entitled, *The Right of Kings*." [The real title was *A Vindication of the Monarchy* . . . . Lond., 1661]. Aubrey says that the Clifford family was originally called *de Pons*, and that it is identical with the Poyntz family.

The second Sir Robert was an active adherent of the Earl of Richmond, was knighted by him on Bosworth Field, and received him as Henry VII. at his Manor House in 1486. He was buried in the Gaunt Chapel, now known as the Mayor's Chapel, Bristol, to which he had been a liberal patron.

The third Sir Nicholas rebuilt the Manor House, and received Queen Elizabeth here on her progress from Greenwich.



From a photograph by Dr. Clarke.

IRON ACTON.
COURTYARD OF MANOR HOUSE.

The Poyntzes quartered on their shield the arms of the following families, whose heiresses they had married: Clanvowe, Acton, Fitz-Nicholl, Wydville, Scales, St. Paul, De Beauchamp, and another unknown. Their motto was "*Crainte Refrainte.*"

The Manor passed by sale, on the death of Sir John Poyntz, in 1680, to William Player, then to Sir Philip Parker, from whom it has descended to the Longs of Rood Ashton. The present Lady of the Manor is Miss Castle, of Frome Lodge, Stapleton. The house has been occupied for 200 years by the family of the present tenant-farmer of the manor, Mr. Nicholls, and the President, in expressing the thanks of the Society to Mr. Nicholls for allowing them to visit his house, said that he hoped that his descendants would continue to dwell there for the same or a longer period.

IRON ACTON CHURCH AND CROSS.

A visit was then paid to the Church, where the Society was heartily welcomed by the Rector, the Rev. J. R. Browne, who pointed out the tithe barn and stables, and the three pointed arches to the west of the church, which are all that remains of the old parsonage. The view of Iron Acton Church, as given by Bigland in his *Gloucestershire Collections*, 1786, shows both the parsonage and the so-called preaching cross. Some remarks on the church and cross will be found in vol. viii. of these *Transactions*, pp. 38 and 39.

The cross stands on a base of three octagonal steps. The lower stage has four clustered shafts, supported by light buttresses, which originally terminated in pinnacles. There was also an octagonal shaft in the centre, the base and cap of which only remain. From this sprang fan-tracery enriched with sculptured oak leaves and acorns.

The upper stage is formed by a square base, on each face of which are two shields, each held by an angel with long drooping wings. Four of the shields are charged with the symbols of our Lord's passion, two are blank, and the remaining two bear: on the south side, the arms of Acton—*quarterly per fesse dancetté argent and azure;* and on the north side, Acton impaling Fitz-Nicoll: *quarterly gules and or, a bend arg.* This base supports a four-sided shaft with cinquefoil panels, each crowned by a canopy with mouldings and finials. Above this was the shaft which bore the cross. The original height was probably about thirty feet. The shield bearing the arms of Acton and Fitz-Nicholl shows that the builder was the first Sir Robert Poyntz, who married, as his second wife, Katherine Fitz-Nicholl. As he does not use his own paternal arms it must be supposed that he had for the time adopted, as he had the right to do, the arms of his grandmother, Maud, the heiress of the Actons, Lords of the Manor of Iron Acton. As he died in 1439, the date of the cross must be a little earlier.

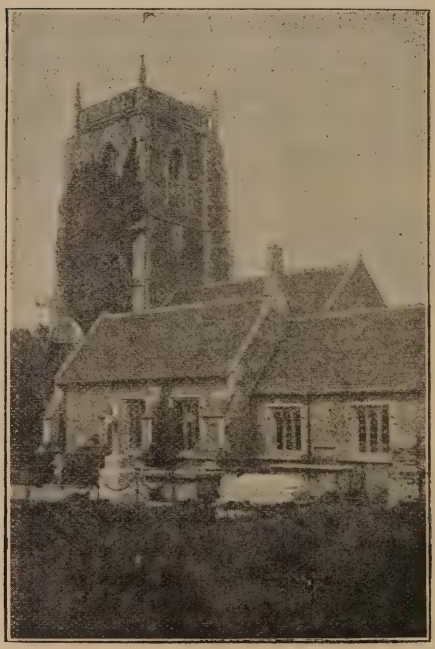
From a photograph by Dr. Clarke.

IRON ACTON CROSS.

It will be noticed that the side of the cross which is nearest the Church has no transom.

The Church, which is dedicated to St. James the Less, consists of a western tower, a nave with porch, a south aisle which is continued eastward, and a choir. The church is probably about the same date as the cross; the lower part of the tower is perhaps somewhat older. On the parapet of the tower, looking toward the north, is the half-length figure of a knight in armour, probably removed from the church. The church contains

several Poyntz monuments: the oldest, an effigy of a knight in the armour worn in the latter part of the reign of Edward III., probably represents John Poyntz, son and heir of the first Sir Nicholas Poyntz and Maud the heiress of the Actons. By his side lies the effigy of a lady unknown. Two encised slabs in the burial chapel of the Lords of the Manor commemorate Robert Poyntz and his first wife Anne. The inscription on the former is as follows: **Here lyeth Robert Poyntz, Lord of Fren Acton and thys stepyl here maked who deyde the fyftene day of Junne the yeer of owre Lord MCCCCXX(XIX) of whos soule God have mercy, Amen.** On the second slab is: **Here lyth Anne the first wyfe of Robert Poyntz of whos sowle God have mercy. Amen.** On the other side of Robert Poyntz is the tomb of his second wife, Katherine, daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Fitz-Nicholl, of Hill. The inscription is nearly effaced and the stone has been used in the 17th century to commemorate Elizabeth, wife of Robert Poyntz, who died in 1631.



IRON ACTON CHURCH.
(From the South.)

Lysons, who figures the first two slabs on Plate I. of his *Antiquities*, naturally conjectures from the first inscription that Robert Poyntz built the tower; but it is possible that "stepyl" means church or perhaps the churchyard cross. He may well have built the two latter, and the upper part of the tower.

On the south side of the Poyntz chapel is a 15th century canopied tomb, with no inscription and bearing three shields with supporters. Two of the shields are blank, the other bears the *fesse dancetté* of the Actons, thus marking it as a Poyntz monument. A conventional helmet, such as was borne on a bier of a dead knight, is suspended on the east wall together with a spur and a piece of a leather surcoat. These probably belonged to Sir John Poyntz, who died in 1680. On

the tomb of Florence Poyntz, which is also a palimpsest, and on that of Hugh Poyntz, who died in 1598 and 1604 respectively, appear the words: *Juxta computationem Anglicanam* or similar words. There is a suggestion here that the Poyntzes would gladly have used the New Style, introduced in 1582 by Pope Gregory XIII. So conservative were the English in this matter that the ten days, then deducted from the Calendar by Italy, Spain, and Portugal, were not given up in England till 1751.

On the north side of the Choir is a nameless Jacobaean altar tomb, and below it is a slab with an incised chalice, missal, and floriated cross, from which all the inscription but one letter has been effaced. It is possible that the Poyntzes in the 15th century placed this monument to one of the Selwyns of Hill, Rectors of Acton, who were their kinsmen. A more detailed account of the Poyntz family will be found in vol. iv. of these *Transactions*, pp. 73—85.

In the north-east window of the chancel is some fine 15th century glass. The middle light, figured by Lysons, Plate XXXI., probably represents Edward IV., as in the same window is the falcon and fetterlock, a badge of that king. The value of royal badges in fixing dates has been, until of late, overlooked. On the left of the king is an ecclesiastic with a triple crown, and therefore probably a Pope, and on his right a mitred Bishop. Amongst other objects of interest in this Church are the Jacobaean pulpit with sounding board, the rood-loft stairs, a curious chamber on the north side of the tower often used as a parish lock-up, a handsome Georgian brass Candelabrum, and the Altar railings dating from the time of Archbishop Laud. The mosaic pavement, placed in the Choir at the time of the restoration of the Church in 1880, is admirable.

IRON ACTON CHURCH.
PULPIT AND ENTRANCE TO ROOD LOFT.

After leaving the Church luncheon was provided at the Lamb Hotel and then a short drive took the party to

YATE COURT,

which, though now a farmhouse, still preserves some picturesque ruins to testify to the strength and magnificence of the ancient buildings. Mr. Bazeley had prepared an interesting and careful description of the architectural features of the house and gave the members of the Society a history of its varied fortunes:

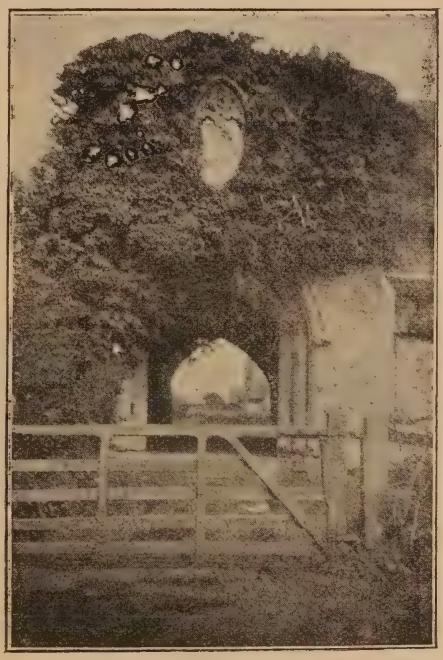
The remains of this ancient fortified dwelling, well deserving the title of a castle, stand within an oval moat, about 100 yards long by 80 yards wide. The deep moat, though narrowed by the *débris* from the falling

From a Photograph by Dr. Clarke.

YATE COURT. THE FARMHOUSE.

walls, is almost perfect. It is very difficult, without long and careful study of the ruins, and comparison of them with strongholds of the same date, to picture the castle as it stood in all its magnificence in the time of the disinherited Lords of Berkeley, who built it and dwelt here whilst Henry VIII. and Edward VI. held Berkeley Castle, their ancestral home. Much more difficult, nay, impossible, would it be to re-construct in one's mind the crenellated Manor House of the De Wyllingtons in the 14th century. Of that earlier period we have remaining a picturesque ivy-clad gate-house, built in the Edwardian or Decorated style of architecture, having two arches, one at its south or external end, and the other leading into a great court on the north. The drawbridge over the moat has long since been superseded by a permanent roadway, but the graceful outer arch with its

characteristic hood-moulding still contains the groove through which the portcullis fell to bar the further progress of a foe who had already crossed the moat. The beautiful window above this arch, with its two principal lights and with quatrefoil and trefoil mouldings in its head, gave light to a large guard-room above the vaulted gateway, the massive fireplace of which still remains. Inside the entrance, one on either side, are two narrow ogee-headed doorways, leading, long ago, one to this upper chamber and the other to the porter's lodging. A barn on the east side of the gatehouse acts as a buttress to preserve it, and long after the rapidly perishing 16th century castle of the Berkeleys has disappeared the early 14th century De Wyllington gatehouse bids fair to survive intact.



YATE COURT. GATEHOUSE.

On entering the great courtyard, traces of buildings are to be seen on every side, except perhaps on the S.W. curve, which was guarded by a strong curtain, or connecting wall, and a round tower. The principal rooms (including the great hall on the first floor of a massive square tower, with parts of the fireplace yet remaining having a lion-rampant in the spandrel of its Tudor arch) evidently occupied the N.E. curve of the oval court. The present farmhouse, containing a newel staircase similar to that at Iron Acton Manor House, formed part of the castle buildings, which must in their entirety have occupied the north end and half the east and west sides of the courtyard.

The most interesting periods in the history of Yate Court are the 13th and the first half of the 14th century, when the De Wyllingtons occupied it; the first half of the 16th century, when the Berkeleys were here; and the autumn of 1644, when it was occupied by a parliamentary force from Gloucester, who soon after abandoned and destroyed it.

Of these periods and the links which connected them with one another

and with the present time merely a brief outline can be given in these notes, which the Members may fill in for themselves from Smyth's *Lives of the Berkeleys*, which are full of local interest, from Miss Hodges' account of Yate Court in her *Ancient English Homes*, and from Corbet's *Historical Relation of the Military Government of Gloucester*. Sir Ralph de Wyllington married Olympias, sister and heiress of Milo de Sandhurst, of Sandhurst, near Gloucester, and, probably in her right, became lord of that Manor. In 1207 he purchased the Manor of Yate, and in 1218 he obtained from Henry III. the grant of a market at Yate. In 1223 he was made Governor of Bristol Castle, and had under his charge the unhappy Eleanour, sister of Prince Arthur of Brittany, whom John murdered. About this time he and his wife built and endowed the Lady Chapel of Gloucester Abbey. It was not, of course, the present Lady Chapel,

RUINS OF YATE COURT.

which was built in the time of Edward VI., but an Early English structure, of which very little indeed remains. Ralph was also lord of the Manor of Brownwilly in Cornwall. He died in 1237, and his son, Ralph, who married a Champernowne of Devon, was succeeded by a son, also called Ralph, who also married a west-country heiress. He was succeeded by a son, John, who appears to have been the true founder of Yate Court. He had permission from Edward I. in 1299 to crenellate, *i.e.* to fortify, his manor house, and he it was, no doubt, who built the present gateway. He and his brother Henry accompanied Edward II. into Scotland in 1314, and were taken prisoners on the field of Bannockburn, so disastrous to England. Later on, when they had obtained their release, they conspired against the King and his hated favourites, the De Spencers, and, with

several other Gloucestershire knights, were taken prisoners at Borroughbridge. Henry was executed at Bristol in 1322; John paid a fine of £300 and saved his life. On the accession of Edward III. he was made a Baron. On his death, *sine prole*, Henry, the son of his brother who perished at Bristol, succeeded him; and on the death of Henry's son, John, *sine prole*, the family became extinct in the male line. Through Elizabeth, one of John's daughters and co-heiresses, it passed into the Beaumont family, then to the Bassets and to the Lords Daubeney; but I do not know that it was occupied by any of these owners. The alienation of Berkeley Castle from the Lords of Berkeley by the Marquis of Berkeley's gift of all his possessions to Henry VII. gave Yate Court a new, and, for a brief period, an important, place in our county history.

Maurice, the son and successor of Maurice the disinherited, who married Katherine Berkeley of Stoke Clifford, was made Sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1514, and, anxious to obtain a home in Gloucestershire, bought the lease for eighty years of Yate Court from Lord Daubeny. In 1517 he commenced the erection of a new mansion. In 1522 he served under the Earl of Surrey in France, and was made a baron of the realm, a title that he hesitated to accept, because he believed himself to be already a baron by inheritance, though deprived of his baronial estates. He died in 1523 at Calais, and was buried there, having left Yate Court to his widow for her life, and, after her death, to his nephew and adopted son Thomas, the sixth Lord of that name. He married as his second wife Anne, daughter of Sir John Savage of Frodsham, Cheshire, on whose *manly* proceedings Smyth delights to expatiate. Soon after her husband's death, in 1534, she came to Yate Court, and it was there that she gave birth to Maurice's posthumous son and heir, Henry. Smyth tells us of the feud between this lady and her husband's brother, Maurice of Mangotsfield, how he drove her deer parks, well-nigh burnt her in her bed at Yate Court, and broke down the head of Mangotsfield Pool and Mill, which she held as her son's guardian. At last the Lady Anne obtained a special commission from Henry VIII., sat on the bench at Gloucester, tried the offenders, found them guilty of riot and injury, and fined them. In 1553, the Castle of Berkeley and all the great possessions of the Lords of Berkeley reverted to Henry, on the death of Edward VI., last male heir of Henry VII., and the family returned to Berkeley. The remainder of the lease of Yate Court was sold to Sir Nicholas Poyntz, and no doubt he lived there whilst he was rebuilding his own manor house at Iron Acton. At the expiration of the lease of Yate Court we find the Staples family already in possession of the manor of Yate. Alexander Staples held it at the time of his death, in 1590, as the inscription on his brass in Yate Church shows us. From the Staples it passed, by inheritance or purchase, to a Mr. Oxwith, who held it when Atkyns wrote his history in 1712. Later on in

the 18th century it became the property of Sir Francis Knollis, and it has descended from him to Mr. Cator Randolph, the present owner.

After the buildings had been examined, Mr. A. KENNEDY SKIPTON read an interesting paper on "The Berkeleys of Yate," which is printed *in extenso* in this volume (see page 25). A description of the Manor House and Park as it existed in 1548 will be found on page 22.

On leaving Yate Court a pretty drive took the party to

HORTON COURT,

a most interesting Manor House, now in the possession of Admiral Sir Frederick Richards, C.B., who occupies it for a short time in each year. This house has been described by Miss Hodges in *Some Ancient English Homes*. Mr. BAZELEY spoke of the assistance this book had been to him in preparing the following notes:—

The house belongs to two very different eras: to the Norman of the 12th century, and to the Renascence or Tudor Gothic architecture of the 16th century. The north wing is one of the very few Norman unfortified domestic buildings remaining in England. The Deanery at Gloucester is another example. Mr. J. H. Parker referred to Horton Court in his

HORTON COURT.

account of *Mediæval Domestic Architecture in Gloucestershire*, read before the Archæological Institute at the Gloucester Congress in 1860 (see *Arch. Jour.*, xvii. 328; and also Parker's *Domestic Architecture*, 1859, vol. iii., p. 260).

The old Norman Hall originally occupied the whole of this north wing, and was open to the roof. It had a gallery at the west end, which was approached by a newel staircase of stone in the S.W. angle, with a

transition doorway. There is a narrow window high up the wall splayed slantwise to throw light into the gallery. Below the gallery was a passage with two doorways, both in good condition, with zigzag mouldings over their semi-circular heads and zigzag diapered work on their tympana. The pear-shaped shafts and capital are uninjured. The doorway on the south led, as at present, into the courtyard of the mansion, whilst the north doorway was a private way to the churchyard. Above the outer door is a small shield bearing *gu. on a saltire arg. two annulets interlaced in fesse*, the arms of Robert Neville, Bishop of Salisbury, 1427 — 37. The Perpendicular buttresses and open-timbered roof belong to that period, and may have been constructed during his rule. Two of the original Norman windows, deeply splayed, but blocked with masonry, still remain. It is much to be regretted that this Norman Hall has been divided into two storeys by a floor inserted from end to end. This is said to have been done by one of the Pastons in the 18th century to provide a chapel for private services after the Roman ritual for himself and his family. Behind the altar in the Georgian panelling was discovered a short time ago a secret doorway leading to a small chamber on the east, from which a passage led to the central part of the house. Near the west end of the Norman Hall, built in the churchyard wall, are two stones, one roughly carved with a bishop's mitre above a shield, bearing a cross; on the other is inscribed *Laus tibi Christe* at the top, T.L. in monogram in the middle, and W. [1492] B. below. Miss Hodges suggests that T.L. stands for Thomas Langton, Bishop of Salisbury, 1483—94, and W.B. for William Burton, a lessee of Horton Court mentioned by Atkyns.

From a photograph by Dr. Clarke.

HORTON COURT DOORWAY.

The main part of the house was evidently built in the early part of Henry VIII.'s reign on the site of an earlier house. It consists of a central

gable running east and west, and two others running north and south. On entering the house one finds on the left the dining-room with a Tudor fireplace, having the arms of the builder, Master William Knight, Doctor of Laws, *per fesse or and gules, in chief a demi-rose gu. conjoined to a demi-sun in base or, from the top of the demi-rose a demi-imperial eagle sans wings sa.* As a crest, resting on the shield, is a Prothonotary's hat, with cord and three rows of tassels. The hat—unlike a cardinal's hat, which is red and has five rows of tassels—is black. The same arms appear over the doorway, and the following inscription is built into the garden wall: WILHELMUS KNYGHT PROTHONOTARIUS ANNO 1521. On the right is the drawing-room, with a Queen Anne look about it, and a pretty little boudoir beyond. Behind the drawing-room is the ancient kitchen. Miss Hodges thinks that there was originally a small court in the middle of the house.

From a photograph by Dr. Clarke.

HORTON COURT. JACOBAEAN DOORWAY.

In the garden, pleasant in summer when the sun shines above the eastern hills, is a garden house or a "loggia" with four medallioned heads of Roman Emperors, and, overshadowing it, a magnificent tulip-tree.

There are no stirring annals of Horton Court. The Manor in the time of Harold belonged to his third son, Ulf, whom William the Conqueror sent to a prison in Normandy when he had confiscated his lands. At the great Survey it belonged to Robert de Todeni. He gave it in dowry with his daughter, Agnes, to Hubert de Ria, and they endowed a prebendal stall with it in Salisbury Cathedral. From that time to the Dissolution, when it was confiscated by Edward VI., it was occupied or let on lease by the fortunate Prebendary who obtained it.

In 1150, Robert de Bella-fago, a great scholar, held it, and Miss Hodges says he was a married man. Robert Morton held it in the time of Edward IV., and Christopher Baynbridge in 1499. But the most noted of

all the Prebendaries was William Knight, whose arms are on the porch and fireplace. His life is given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. He was a scholar of Winchester and New College, of which Society he became Fellow in 1493. In 1527 he was sent to Rome by Henry VIII. to promote the divorce. He was Bishop of Bath and Wells from 1541 till his death in 1547. He was more of a diplomatist than an ecclesiastic, and he won and kept the favour of Henry VIII., which was more than most men did. He retained Horton Court for thirty years, and when his foreign missions were over, he spent his holidays in happy contentment and rest in this old manor house which he had rebuilt and adorned.

The number of his preferments was astounding; but, wise in his generation, when he saw that envy might prove his ruin, he resigned everything except his bishopric into the hands of his royal patron, and lived and died in peace in his Palace at Wells. He was buried in the nave of his Cathedral, near the pulpit he had erected. He also built, with another man's money, the market cross on twelve pillars of stone.

HORTON CHURCH.

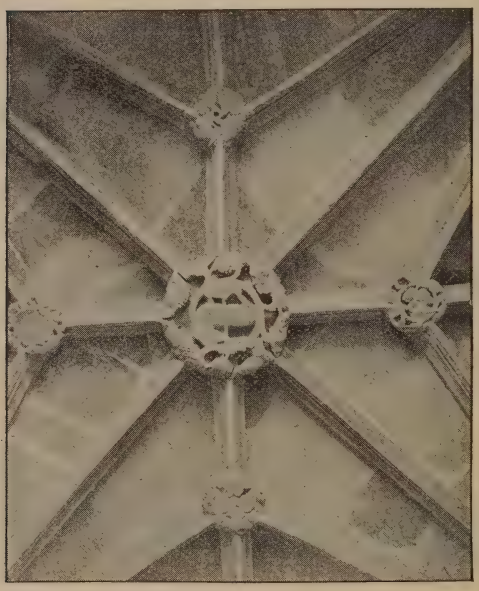
When the Prebend was dissolved, Somerset induced the young king to give it to him; but he lost it ere long, as well as his head, by his treason, and Edward gave it to Sir Clement Paston, the grandson of John Paston, well known in connection with the "Paston Letters." Sir Clement Paston was a distinguished soldier and sailor, and a great favourite of four successive sovereigns. He died in 1597 *s.p.*, and Horton passed in succession to his nephew, Edward, to William, and to John Paston. The last having lost his Norfolk home by fire in 1707, came to reside at Horton; and from that time it was the family residence. John was a Roman Catholic, and no doubt

he or his son and heir, William, constructed the private chapel in the old Norman Hall. After William Paston's death Horton passed about 1807 into the hands of Mr. Brooke of Chipping Sodbury. From him it has come to the present owner, to whom the Society is indebted for his kindness in allowing them to visit this house.

HORTON CHURCH.

The next visit was to the Church, which lies quite close to the house, and the party was indebted to the Rector, the Rev. A. J. Begbie, for a hearty welcome and a description of the most interesting features.

The Church of S. James, Horton, consists of a west tower of five stages, a nave, south porch with parvise or priest's chamber, north aisle which is continued eastward, and choir. The Church appears to have been erected in the 14th century, and greatly restored in the 15th or 16th century. The porch has a groined roof, supported by four half-detached shafts, ornamented with the figures of two men and two beasts. One of the men is playing the bagpipes. In the centre of the groining is a boss with Agnus Dei, the Lamb bearing a Cross. A staircase in the south wall leads up to the priest's chamber, and beyond it to the leads of the roof. The nave is separated from the north aisle by a 14th century arcade of three arches, with rounded piers and hexagonal caps. The western respond appears to have been cut down in the 15th century and converted into a kind of elongated corbel terminating in a man's head. The windows are all Perpendicular insertions, being somewhat monotonous in form. Each has a group of four oblong lights in its head; the great



From a photograph by Dr. Clarke.

HORTON CHURCH. ROOF OF PORCH.

East window has two such groups. A staircase in the south wall, which apparently once led to the rood loft, now forms an entrance to the pulpit. There was a much earlier church on the same site, for the Sarum Registers record the gift of the church in 1219 by Agnes, wife of Robert de Bellafago, to the church of Salisbury *in prebendam;* but I have not yet observed any traces of what must have been a Norman or Transition, if not earlier, building. Bigland says that in his time there were in painted glass figures of ecclesiastics and cherubs holding escutcheons, upon which were (1) *Or, a fesse gules, over all a bend azure*, and (2) *Or, on a bend gules three mullets pierced argent.* If the first coat might be read, *Or, a fesse gules, over all a bend sable*, then it would be the arms of Fisher. The second are the arms of Bamfield. Bigland describes four Paston monuments as being in the Paston Sepulchral Aisle. Lying on the floor of the chapel in the Norman wing of the Court, is a fragment of the one he first mentions: a shield bearing the arms of Paston impaling Lawson. This is part of the tomb of William Paston, who lived in Horton Court, and died there in 1673, and surely it should be replaced in the north aisle of the Church. Another commemorates John Paston, who married Frances Tichbourne, and died 1737, aged 68. A third commemorates William Paston, who married (1) Mary Courtenay and (2) Mary Giles, and died in 1769, aged 69. The arms of the Pastons are *Argent, six fleurs delys azure, a chief indented or;* their crest *a griffin or*, and their motto, "*De mieux je pense en mieux.*"

From Horton the next move was to

LITTLE SODBURY MANOR HOUSE,

which stands, well sheltered from the east, just under the Roman camp which dominates this southern part of the Cotswolds.

Some account of this house has already appeared in the Society's *Transactions* (vol. xiii., p. 3, and vol. viii., p. 33), and reference should also be made to Miss Hodges' *Some Ancient English Homes*, and to Buck's *Historic Lands of England.* Members are also indebted, as usual, to the careful description drawn up by Mr. Bazeley:—

The porch, with its pointed arch, hood-moulding, and stone seats, admits the visitor to a central passage, on the left of which a door led to the hall; on the right is a staircase leading up to a room which is lighted by a fine oriel window. This oriel has been supported by a buttress disfiguring the front of the house. The Great Hall, which is rapidly falling to decay, and must ere long be in ruins if nothing is done to save it, has a fine timber roof, with wind braces and angel corbels. The dais or raised floor, on which the lord and his family sat at meat, was at the south end, whilst along the east and west sides long tables were set for the retainers. At the north end was a screen, and above it a minstrels' gallery. Over the daïs, in the east wall, is a hideous mask, through which,

it is said, the ladies of the household and their friends looked down from their gallery on the revellers below. Those were rude times, when boisterous merriment, rough practical joking, and inordinate feasting were sights interesting to ladies of high birth. Two corbels, some nine feet up in the west walls, now removed, were probably intended to hold lamps. Beyond the hall to the north extended a wing containing library, parlour, and bedrooms. These were especially interesting from their connection with William Tyndale, but they have all been swept away. The woodwork and stone-carvings were removed to Lyegrove, the residence of the owners of Little Sodbury.

The west wing, a comparatively modern accretion, containing a ballroom, parlour, and bedrooms, is rapidly falling into a ruinous state, and is

From a photograph by Dr. Clarke.

LITTLE SODBURY MANOR HOUSE.

the abode of domestic fowls and beasts. High up the bank behind the house are the remains of the tower of S. Adeline's Church, where Tyndale was wont to preach sometime in the first quarter of the 16th century. The church has been removed to a spot lower down the hill, where ground could be found for the burial of the dead, and nearer than the old site to the homes of the living.

Little Sodbury Manor House was built or rebuilt by Sir John Walshe, of Overton, who obtained the Manor in dowry with his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Foster. On the alienation of the Berkeley estates to Henry VII., under the will of William, Marquis of Berkeley, Sir John Walshe was appointed Receiver, and Sir Robert Poyntz, of Iron Acton, Steward of the royal manor. Sir John died in 1492 and was succeeded by

his son, Sir John, who was Henry VIII.'s champion at his coronation. He married (1) Ann, daughter of Sir Robert Poyntz, and (2) Ann, daughter of John Dinely. He was Sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1526–7 and 1535–6. Little Sodbury Manor House owes most of its interest to the fact that Tyndale, the translator of the New Testament, lived there for a short time as tutor to Sir John's children. In 1526 he took refuge in Holland, and there printed two editions of his work. In 1536 he was betrayed into the hands of Henry VIII.'s emissaries, and was tried and found guilty of heresy. He was strangled and then burnt at Vilfort, near Brussels. The late Mr. Francis Fry published a facsimile reprint of the scarce first edition of *Tyndale's New Testament* from the unique copy in the library of the Baptist College at Bristol.

Some interesting remarks "On William Tyndale and his Forerunners in Gloucestershire, by the late Mr. John Taylor, were printed in these *Transactions* (vol. viii., pp. 35 and 36).

In 1535 Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn paid a visit to Sir John Walshe at Little Sodbury. The following is a diary of their route through Gloucester: Winchcombe and Sudeley, July 21–25; Tewkesbury, 26–30; Gloucester, July 31—August 5; Leonard Stanley, 6; Berkeley Castle, 7–13; Thornbury Castle, 14–24; Little Sodbury, 25–26. From thence they passed out of the county to Bromham, in Wilts. An avant-courier preceded the royal party by a day or two to make preparations for their reception. As he spent August 21st at Bristol and the 22nd at Iron Acton Court, it would appear that the King had intended to pay those places also a visit. In fact, it is said that Henry went in disguise to Bristol; but the plague was raging there at the time, and the Court came no nearer than Thornbury.

Sir John died in 1546 or 1547, leaving Maurice son and heir, then thirty years of age. He married Bridget, daughter of Nicholas, Lord Vaulx. In 1556, while he was at dinner in the hall of his manor house, "a fiery, sulphurous globe" passed through the room from one window to another, killing him and one child, and so injuring six more of his children that they died within six months. Two sons, however, still remained: Nicholas, who succeeded him, and Henry.

Nicholas married Mary, daughter of Sir John Berkeley, of Stoke Gifford, and died in 1577 or 1578, leaving Henry son and heir. Henry was slain in a duel by Sir Henry Wintour; and his cousin, Walter, son of his father's brother Henry, succeeded him. About 1602 the manor was sold to Thomas Stephens, of Eastington, Attorney-General to the two young princes, Henry and Charles. His descendants held it for one hundred years and more. During another terrible storm in 1703 the manor house was again in danger of destruction, and Thomas Stephens and his wife were—the parish registers record—wonderfully preserved from

being burned. In 1728 the estates passed to Robert Packer, of Donington Castle, whose daughter Elizabeth married Dr. David Hartley, the author of *Observations on Man.* The property is now held by his descendants, the Misses Hartley, conjointly.

Again and again have attempts been made to save this interesting house from destruction, but when entreaties are made to repair at least the roof of the hall and patch up the decaying timbers we are met with the sad reply "*Non possumus.*" Can no means be found to arrest the hands of the destroyers—time, weather, and neglect?

After visiting the Manor House, some members of the party climbed the hill to the camp, passing in their way the site of the old Perpendicular church, which must have been remarkable for its smallness, as it consisted only of a "nave (about as large as a good-sized parlour), one aisle on the north-east, where was the carved oak pew of the lord of the manor, and a low, square, embattled tower on the south. . . . It had no graveyard —the hard rock of the terrace resisting all efforts of pick or shovel. This necessitated burial at the mother church of Old Sodbury, a mile or so away across the fields; and more than once in winter time, as the mourners were lifting their burden over the ice-coated stiles *en route*, the coffin slipped and fell with gruesome results." (*See* Miss Hodges' *Some Ancient English Homes*, p. 208.) The site was therefore abandoned and the new church built at the foot of the hill in 1859. Some of the windows and material of the old church were used in the new structure, and the "old bell, too, encircled by its legend of 'God save the Queen and send us peace. A.R., 1707,' still calls the people to prayer." (*Ibid.*, p. 209.)

An excellent plan and description of the camp by Mr. G. B. Witts will be found in vol. viii. of the *Transactions*, pp. 74—78. It appears to have been constructed inside some earlier works, probably of British origin, and is remarkable for the regularity of its plan as well as for the strength of its ramparts and ditch.

This brought the proceedings of a very busy day to a close, and it only remained for the members to enjoy the kind hospitality of the Misses Fox and Mr. Fox, who not only entertained the party on its homeward way with tea at Yate House, but also exhibited some of the many treasures contained in his library.

The following members and friends were present at this meeting:—

The President (Mr. G. B. Witts), Mr. G. M. Currie, Mr. F. F. Fox, Rev. G. S. Master, Major-Gen. Vizard, Mr. F. F. Tuckett, Mr. Chas. Scears, Miss E. Madan, Mr. F. A. Were, Rev. W. T. Allen, Mr. T. Sherwood Smith, Rev. W. T. Blathwayt, Rev. W. E. Blathwayt, Mr. V. R. Perkins, Rev. R. C. L. Blosse, Rev. Wm. Bazeley, Mr. H. K. Cripps, Mr. J. E. Prichard, M.B., Dr. O. W. Clarke, Mr. John F. Perry, Mr. A. J. M. Ball, Mr. Jas. Baker, Miss E. Hodges, Mr. W. T. Alston,

Mr. R. Groves-Morris, Mr. Alfred E. Hudd, Mr. A. E. Smith, Mr. C. H. Low, Miss King, Mr. A. T. Martin, Mr. F. J. Cullis, Mr. H. S. Kennedy-Skipton, Mr. H. W. Bruton, Mr. H. Sessions, Mr. J. Latimer, Mr. C. J. Tinson, Rev. W. H. S. Davies, Mr. D. J. Wintle, Mr. G. H. D. Chilton, Mr. F. Shum, Rev. A. C. Jennings, Mr. Wm. Jones, Mr. J. E. Pritchard, Mr. W. J. Stanton, Rev. T. M. Middlemore-Whithard, Mr. F. J. Tarr, Mr. C. H. Dancey, Miss E. K. Woodward, Rev. S. E. Bartleet, Mr. H. B. McCall, Mr Chas. Stanton, Mr. E. Harford, Mr. E. Bush, Rev. E. Langley.

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE MANOR PLACE OF YATE IN THE SECOND YEAR OF EDWARD VI. [A.D. 1548–9.][1]

COMMUNICATED BY FRANCIS F. FOX, ESQ.

FFIRST a mote compassing the Scite in bredthe from the bryms xxx foote with a standing bridge a gatehouse of stone with a lodging covered with leede square xvj foote.

The baase corte in length CCxx foote in bredth Cl foote walled with Rough stone and embatled with walkes on the wall.

In the same Corte a chapell with a closett over yt and a chymney over the Est syde and on the West syde a gallarye with chambres over yt. Over the south syde a stable with a hey loft and bake house and bruhouse: in the west corner a falce bridge.

Entring to the Hall a lytle moote xii foote brode with a brige over yt: the Inner gate with a lodge and a fayer chamber over yt covered with slate brode xx foote long xxxiij foote the lytle corte long xxx feet brode xvj foote with a lytle garden adioynyng of that measure.

A porche at thentrye of the square ix foote with a chamber over slated.

The Hall broode xxiiij feet long xl feet with ij wyndows hauyng iiij lyghtes transumpt and a fyer harth without a louver tyled.

A buttrye at the west ende and a pantrye long xviij feet brode xij feet with a seller under.

A Ketchen with ij harthes at thende of thalle long xxvij feet brode xiiij feet with a drye larder.

[1] Augmentation Office Rentals and Surveys. Portf. 1. Number 5, fol. 83.

An entry from the hall west long xl feet brode vij feet to the seler. and a little Corte by the seller brode xx feet long xl feet. the seller square xxiiij feet.

by the seller xij stepps to the grete chamber.

The grete chamber brode xvij feet long l feet with ij wyndoes of iiij lights a pece not transumpte . . . and a closett within it. the chamber Rooff compasse playsterd. with a plane chymney of free stone.

At the southende a gallarye longe xxvij feet brode viij feet with ij wyndowes of tymber of vj lyghts and one of iij lighthtes.

Over the right hand a litle chamber a lytle chamber [*sic*] with ii glasse wyndowes one of v lightes thother of iij square xvj foote.

At thende of the gallary a chamber longe xxv feet brode xiij feet with ij wyndowes one of iiij lyghtes thother of ij lyghtes with a chymney.

A chamber ascending iiij steps square xvj foote with a Jakes within the same.

At the northende of the greete chamber a litle chamber brode viij feet long xv feet.

Next adioynyng an other chamber long xviij foote brode xvij feet with a chymney ij glased wyndowes and a litle Closett.

Item an another chamber over the same.

At the higher ende of the Hall ascend ix stepps a fayer new parlor with a plesant wyndowe with x lightes transumpte of free stone and ij wyndowes lyke of iiij lights with a chymney the parlor longe xxxvj feet brode xx feet in height xiiij feet not sealed. but appoynted for lyme or playster.

At the northende a fayer chamber with a bay wyndowe

transumpt of vj lightes and j wyndowe of ij lightes square xviij feet with a Chymney.

Next adioynyng an other lyke longe and brode with one wyndowe transumpt of iiij lyghtes with a house of Office.

Item over the sayd iij chambres iij other chambres of lyke length bredthe and lyghtes not all fynyshed havyng steyres of xxvij steps and havyng a garett over those chambres covered with slate.

On the northsyde on the Hall a lytle courte long xliiij feet brode xviij feet with iij lytle chambres for yomen and a privey. Vyce from the northende of the new lodging stand ij chambres over the butlerye.

The parke contains by estymacion about ij myles and di.[1] and in the same a dove house and a hey house distant from the place ccc feet.

Item a fayer large mylle poole and a lytle Corne mylle served with the poole.

Item a small warreyne of Conyes.

Item ther is severed with a pale in the park xxxij acres of mede and pasture.

Item the park is compassed parte with walle and parte with pale and distant from the towne j myle and a half.

Item a medow late parcell of the parke and layed out containing xvj acres.

Item xl deare whereof ij buckes ij soores[2] ij sorelles.[3]

[1] Dimidium = a half.

[2] Sore, a term occasionally applied to the young of animals.

[3] Sorell, a young buck, properly one in its third year. Halliwell, *Dict. of Archaic and Provincial Words.*

THE BERKELEYS AT YATE.

By H. S. KENNEDY-SKIPTON.

William, first Marquis of Berkeley, Earl of Nottingham, and Baron Berkeley (1426–91), called by old Smyth "William the Waste-all," occupied his vast property from 1463 to 1491.

He owned eighty-seven manors and forty-nine moieties and quarters of manors, among which we may note as very desirable properties, Dovercourt, Harwich, Bedford, Melton Mowbray, Repton, Ashborne, Brighton, Reigate, Dorking, Tyburn, Marylebone, &c. Much of this he got by his marriage with Anne, heiress of the Duke of Norfolk. He aided Richard III. with men, and Henry VII. with money, and played his part so well, that Richard's defeat at Bosworth did him no harm. As he had no issue, he left all his property to the Crown, as long as it should continue in the male line, and it was therefore enjoyed by Henry VII., Henry VIII., and Edward VI.

Hence his brother and his successors were for some time excluded from Berkeley Castle, and lived at Yate. The years of exile are 1491—1553. Maurice Berkeley, "The Lawyer," who succeeded to the title in 1491, and died in 1506, was the first of the Yate Berkeleys. This disinherited lord was shamefully treated by his worthless brother, but determined, old man though he was, to restore the fortunes of his house—

> "Regium certe genus et Penates
> Mœret iniquos."

He found so many flaws in his brother's sales of properties, and his bequest of manors to the Crown, that he recovered over fifty. Where part of one manor was situated within

another, the bequest of that other did not involve the part included, unless it was named, and therefore, as regards that part, his brother died intestate, and Maurice recovered it as his heir-at-law. To do Henry VII. justice, he did nothing to hinder these recoveries from the Crown, which shows he was not quite so grasping after all.

Smyth gives this picture of the poor old man :—

"With a milk-white head in his irksome old age of seventy years in winter terms and frosty seasons with a buckram bagge crammed with law cases in early mornings and late evenings walking with his eldest son between the Inns of Court and Westminster Hall following his lawsuits in his own old person."

Maurice, Lord Berkeley, called "The Courtier," succeeded his father in 1506, and died in 1523. He was always at Yate, when in England. Smyth describes him as "a real Gloucestershire man and a foreigner in all other counties," a truly honourable designation.

He fought at Flodden, and married the daughter of Sir Marmaduke Constable, of Flamborough, who, as we learn from a brass plate in Flamborough Church, "at the age of three-score years and ten was present with his sonnes, brothers, servants, and Kynsmenne (*sic*) at Brankeston (Flodden), where the Kynge of Scottys was slain." Sir Marmaduke lived in six reigns, and dying in 1515 was buried in Flamborough Church. The autograph letter which Henry VIII. wrote to him, to thank him for his services, is still preserved by R. W. Strickland-Constable, of Wassand, Hornsea.

He was a friend of Henry VIII. in his earlier and better days, ere he ravaged the Church, and began what is sometimes termed the Reformation.

When at home, his accounts were made up every week, and his household books with notes in his handwriting are still preserved at Berkeley Castle.

He left no issue, and his widow lived on at Yate after his death, and is buried in the Berkeley aisle of the church.

Thomas, Lord Berkeley, brother of the last, succeeded in 1523, and died in 1532. He is "The Sheepmaster."

When a younger son without great prospects he lived as a gentleman farmer, and was a great breeder of sheep, so that Smyth calls him "a perfect Cotswold sheppard," and tells us "he lived a kind of grazier's life having his flocks of sheep sommering in one place and wintering in another place, as he observed the fields and pastures to be found, and could bargain best cheape."

Through his sister-in-law's jointure and other expenses he did not get much from his brother's property at first, and lived with his brother-in-law, John Arnold, at Highnam for a time. He kept the accounts of his flocks most carefully, and usually got 12s. 8d. (=£9 now) a todd for his wool. He was knighted by his second cousin, the Earl of Surrey, for his services at Flodden. He lived in fine style at Yate, and married his two daughters there. Muriel married Sir G. Throckmorton, of Congleton, Warwickshire, and also of Lyppiatt Park, and the accounts of her wedding trousseau are preserved, her hose and shoes having cost 1s. 10d. A lady of small stature, she lived long, and saw 220 descendants before she died.

Thomas, Lord Berkeley, succeeded his father in 1532, and died in 1534. Existing documents at Berkeley show that he wrote the best hand, and was the best classical scholar of the family; but he could not live long at Yate, and so became a "paying guest" with the Countess of Wiltshire, at Stone, Dartford. He paid 25s. a week (=£16 now) for the keep of himself and wife, two gentlemen, and six men, and she did him well for the money. He died of a surfeit of cherries in 1534, leaving no visible heir.

Lady Anne, his widow, lived on at Yate, and proved herself one of the right sort. She had great trouble with her husband's brother, Maurice, who of course went for the title and estates, but found out to his sorrow that he was a little too previous. In fact he went far too fast at his fences, and just before the birth of Lord Berkeley's posthumous son,

a little stranger by no means welcome to his uncle, he attacked Yate Court at night, slew some deer, and was about to fire a rick at one corner of it, so as "to burn the lady with her weirish boy in it." There had been, however, some professional poachers after the deer that night, who on their appearance hid behind the rick, and hearing them talking flew out. This alarmed Maurice and his men, who fled. But the poachers informed Lady Anne, who got Maurice and his men convicted by the Star Chamber and fined. Really the poachers had an escape, for her ladyship was death on such vagabonds. She was a local magistrate, and had also judicial powers, and in some cases power of life and death, which she exercised against deer-stealers. When the Dean of Westbury-on-Severn objected to some of her servants playing tennis on Sunday morning at the church house at Yate, she denounced him to his face at Gloucester Sessions, and said she would "sit upon his skyrts." This curious phrase seems to have been the same as a threat of posterior propulsion nowadays. He with Sir N. Poyntz had already offended her by trying to get at her tame Roman priest, Wm. Norton, whom she had shielded from arrest. Evidently the Dean was a red-hot gospeller, with a nose for a heretic, *i.e.*, anyone not so ready as himself to adapt his religious principles to his interests. Her daughter, Elizabeth, was the greatest beauty of the courts of Edward VI. and Mary Tudor, and married Lord Ormonde.

Lady Anne looked after her household at Yate well, and every morning visited her stables, barns, dairies, and swine-troughs.

Henry, the first of that name, Lord Berkeley 1534—1613, was born nine weeks and four days after his father's death, so that his uncle was soon out of his misery. We may call him "Henry the Sportsman." He got his name Henry from his godfather, Henry VIII. Mary Tudor called on him to attend her with 500 men to check Wyatt's rebellion. So he borrowed money from his tenants, pawned his own and even the church plate, and thus got enough to raise and equip 500

stalwart Gloucestershire men. He was always moving about between Yate, Mangotsfield, Calluden, Berkeley, and London. It took him eight days to get from Berkeley to town, and he hunted and hawked as he went like Col. Thornton in his sporting tour to Scotland. He lodged at the houses of friends on these journeys, *e.g.*, Clifford, Sherborne, Saperton, Leckhampton, Compton Cassey, Frocester, Elmore, and Down Amney. The Duttons of Sherborne and the Guises of Elmore are descendants of Lord Berkeley's hosts. He married firstly Lady Catharine Howard, daughter of the Earl of Surrey, and as good a sportswoman as Gloucestershire has ever seen.

For the first sixteen years of their married life she accompanied her lord on all his hunting expeditions, but it was different after the execution of her brother, the Duke of Norfolk. She was a good shot with her crossbow at game, and with her longbow at a mark; and her bow, bracer, gloves, and arrows were long preserved at Berkeley. She was as keen on hawking as her husband, and even kept hawks in her bedroom to the detriment of her kirtles. In the steward's book we find some delicate details of the price of her wardrobe, when she went to the Twelfth Day festivities of Mary's Court at Greenwich. These may be multiplied by twelve to get the modern value. "Two pairs of fine hosen, 4s. 8d., and two fine smocks, 8s. A velvet hatt for my Lord, 3s."

Among the "boys," "whisperers," and broken-down sportsmen, who sponged on Lord Berkeley, were "captains, soldiers, poets, and cast courtiers." Hence we find him living beyond his income to the extent of £1,500 a year, so that in the end he had to sell property to the annual value of £1,500.

His New Year's gifts to the Queen were £10 in gold, as well as lamprey pies, salmon, and venison. He sent "other small tokens" to the judges, privy councillors, and court officials. To the Lord Keeper he gave ten old angels, which got him the commission of the peace, an honour one would

have expected to come to him gratis. James I. made him Lord Lieutenant of Gloucestershire, and he had only two deputies, Sir Richard Berkeley and William Dutton, of Sherborne.

He had 150 servants in orange tawny coats, with the lion rampant on the right sleeve. In winter they wore white frieze. Their salaries were as follows: Gentlemen, £3 6s. 8d. a year; yeomen, £2 13s. 4d.; and grooms, £2. Groom is not used in exactly the modern sense, but in the sense of men, *i.e.* serving men (Cf. Bride-groom).

Among these was one Langhan, an Irish footman. He once stopped his master's horses, when they ran away with his coach down Holborn Hill, London. Footman of course means running footman, and Langhan was a fine athlete, for he once went from Calluden, Warwickshire, to London on foot and back, 148 miles, and stayed the night in London,—all in forty-two hours. He was sent to fetch a special medicine for his mistress. This was a splendid performance, when we consider the state of the roads in the 16th century. His reward was a new suit of clothes. After Edward VI.'s death Lord Berkeley recovered his property, though he did not go to live at the Castle for some time. He had indeed often to retrench, and so went as a paying guest to stay with his mother-in-law, the Duchess of Norfolk, at Castle Rising, where he paid 10s. a week each for the keep of himself and his wife, and 4s. for each of her gentlewomen.

He was a good sportsman, and a "flyer" at every game. When in town he hunted in Gray's Inn Fields, and towards Islington and Highgate—a rather stiff country to negotiate nowadays. He also hunted the wild stag with his buck hounds in Leicestershire, Warwickshire, and Gloucestershire for thirty *summers!* He bought his hunters at fairs in the North, and they were of the best; while his hounds bred by himself were equally good. One of his best hunters was called "Brimsley."

Two of his favourite hawks, "Stella" and "Kate," were famous among falconers. There is an old Welsh proverb,

"You may know a gentleman by his hand, his hawk, and his greyhound," and Lord Berkeley would have passed that test. His best falconers were Tooley and Guy Good, and so fond was he of his cooks, huntsmen, and falconers, that his steward had no power to dismiss these servants.

He got a red face through once hunting a deer on foot in the park at Yate and then dipping his heated face in hot water. "The flush and fulness of the nose, which forthwith arose, could never be remedied," says old Smyth. As an excuse for a *portly* proboscis this is distinctly better than sunstroke.

Such then is the career of Henry, Lord Berkeley, who died in 1623. He was indeed a kind master, a devoted husband, a pious man, a great sportsman, and a truly noble lord. When he entertained his neighbours in his hall at Berkeley at Christmas and other festivals, he used to go round and welcome them at each table. When he had any guests of high rank, he took the lowest seat among them. He was a kind master, and was well served, and those, who knew him best, liked him best. "He lived an honest man without hurt to any, rendering to each man what was their right. None in his time was found more ready to render justice to all alike." These are the words of one who knew him intimately, who had seen him on his knees in his oratory, and also in his pride of place leading the chase in his ancestral parks. We are not surprised to learn that his tenants wept over his grave at Berkeley declaring with one consent that they had lost the best landlord in England, and his old steward, to whom he had left his silver watch, burst into tears. Generous forgiving and dignified in all his relations the great head of the greatest house in Gloucestershire bore himself well, and we may say of him in the words of Chaucer—

> "He never yit no vileinye ne sayde
> In al his lyf unto no maner wight;
> He was a verray perfight gentil knight."

THE ORIGIN OF THE MERCIAN SHIRES.

By the Rev. C. S. TAYLOR, M.A., *Vicar of Banwell.*

The word Shire means simply a share, something which has been shorn off, or separated. As applied to districts then, it is not applied to the lands of whole peoples: Essex, Sussex, Middlesex, Surrey, are not shires; but the district pertaining to Bristol or Gloucester is a shire, because it has been shorn off from the great territory of the Mercians. The word itself is a very ancient one. It occurs in the Laws of Ine, c. 690: § 36. "Let him who takes a thief, or to whom one is given, and he then lets him go, or conceals the theft, pay for the thief according to his 'wer.' If he be an ealdorman let him forfeit his shire, unless the King is willing to be merciful to him." § 39. "If any one go from his lord without leave, or steal himself away into another shire, and be discovered, let him go where he was before, and pay to his lord lx shillings."[1] Here the word is used for the dominion of the ealdorman, or the estate of the lord.

In the Old English paraphrase of Bede, made in King Alfred's time, the word is used for the district or estate dependent on a Church. II. 20, "thære cyrican scire onfeng. Paulinus took charge of the Diocese of Rochester." V. 20, "he gewat to his mynstre's scire thæt is on Læstinga ea, Ceadda ad monasterii sui quod in Læstinga curam secessit." In the Chronicle for 709 also we are told that the land of the West Saxons was divided into two bishop-shires—"todæled into twa biscopscira."

In the Laws the word is of frequent occurrence. In § 37 of King Alfred's laws it is used of an ealdorman's shire. In the *Judicia Civitatis Lundoniæ*, of the time of Athelstan, it is used of the districts of reeves of estates who are to track

[1] The References are to Schmid's *Gesetze der Angelsachsen, Ed. 1858.*

out thieves. In the supplement to King Edgar's laws it is used in contradistinction to "byrig"; "in every burh and in every shire." In King Ethelred's treaty with the Danes Olaf, Justin, and Guthemund, made about 993, the word is used of the district in which a man who is to warrant lost property lives.

In King Edmund's laws, II. 4, it is laid down that the King will not permit sanctuary in his household to a shedder of blood, until he have made such amends as the Bishop in whose shire it may be shall teach. In Edgar's laws, III. 3, it is enacted that an unjust judge shall pay a fine of cxx shillings, which shall be handed to the King by the shire-bishop; and by III. 5 it is enacted that the shire-mote shall be held twice in the year, and that the shire-bishop and the alderman shall attend to teach both God's right and world-right. In King Ethelred's Institutes of 1008 it is enacted that a monk who has no minster shall come to the shire-bishop and engage himself to keep the three monastic vows: and this direction is repeated in the laws of the Council of Eanham under the same King.

The word is also used of the district pertaining to a single church or priest. At the Council of Eanham it was enacted that if a corpse is buried out of its proper shire, soul-shot must be paid to the minster to which it belonged. And in the laws of the Northumbrian priests of the tenth century it is ordered that—"If a priest conceal anything in his shrift-shire between men tending to wrong, let him make amends for it." But in King Æthelstan's laws of the Council of Greatanlea mention is made of the bishop's scrift-scire or diocese.

King Alfred left land in Triconshire, probably the hundred of Trigg in Cornwall, to his son Edward. In Domesday the account of the city of York runs thus: "In Eboraco civitate tempore Regis Edwardi præter scyram Archiepiscopi fuerunt sex scyræ;" and Pignoscire for Pinnock in Didbrook occurs in the record for Gloucestershire; while Hallamshire and Richmondshire are familiar enough to Yorkshiremen, and

Hexhamshire, Islandshire and Norhamshire, to Northumbrians, at the present day.

In fact, in old days any district which was carved out of a larger territory, whether for ecclesiastical or civil purposes, might be called a "shire"; and the purpose of this paper is to ascertain, if possible, the period at which the district now known as Gloucestershire was defined, and, indirectly, the manner in which the shire-system of England between Thames and Humber came into being.

The first mention of Gloucestershire in a contemporary document, so far as I know, is the record of the Chronicles under 1016, that after the battle of Assandun, "went King Cnut up with his army to Gloucestershire, where he learned that King Eadmund was." This entry was clearly made by the hand of one living at the time, for a short distance back in the record of the same year the writer says: "The army went then after that from London with their ships into Arewa,[1] and there went up, and proceeded into Mercia, and slew and burned whatsoever they overran, *as is their wont*,[2] and got for themselves food." The words in Italics could not have been written long after 1016, for on the death of Eadmund Ironside on St. Andrew's Mass Day in that year, Cnut obtained the realm of all the English, and the harryings ceased. We have then one fixed point, for we learn that Gloucestershire already existed in 1016.

On proceeding with the enquiry as to the probable period before that date at which the shire came into being, it is well to note at the beginning the very great difference in age of the shire-divisions south of Thames, and those to the north of the river. Every existing shire-division south of Thames is noticed in that part of the Parker MS. of the Chronicle which was written before the first change of handwriting under 892; while there is no mention of any Mercian shire in any copy of the Chronicles until after 1000, except in one instance, which will be dealt with hereafter. Clearly the West Saxon areas existed in King Alfred's time, while the

[1] The Orwell. [2] Swa hira gewuna is.

Mercian shires, as we now know them, were unknown until long after his day. We may notice, however, that the only divisions of Wessex known to Bede, writing about 730, were the dioceses.

The passages in the Parker MS. are these:—

836. Ethelwulf, son of Egbert, took the kingdom of the West Saxons, and he gave his son Æthelstane the kingdom of the Kentish men,[1] and of the East Saxons, and of the men of Surrey, and of the South Saxons.

860. Osric Aldorman with Hampshire,[2] and Æthulwulf Aldorman with Berkshire,[3] fought against the army and put them to flight, and held the place of slaughter.

845. Eanulf Aldorman with the men of Somerset,[4] and Ealchstan Bishop and Osric Aldorman with the men of Dorset,[5] fought at the mouth of Parrett against the Danish army.

851. Ceorl Aldermon fought against the heathen men with Devonshire,[6] at Wicganbeorge.

898. In this year died Æthelm, ealdormon of Wiltshire.[7]

The Wilsæte, or people of Wilts, however, are mentioned as joining King Alfred in 878.

891. Three Scots came from Ireland, and came to land among the Cornishmen.[8]

Thus we see that all the territorial divisions of England south of Thames were already recognised as realms under king, or ealdorman, or bishop in the time of King Alfred. And we may well notice here an important point with regard to the development of the Mercian shires, to which Mr. Freeman draws attention.[9] South of Thames, only Hampshire takes its name from a town. Dorset and Somerset contain Dorchester and Somerton, but they are only the fortress and the dwelling of the peoples to whom the territory belonged; they do not give the name to the territory. Berkshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall are clearly not called from

[1] Cantwara rice. [2] Hamtunscire. [3] Bearrucscire. [4] Sumursætum.
[5] Dornsætum. [6] Defena scire. [7] Wiltunscire. [8] Corn walum.
[9] *Norman Conquest*, vol. i., Note E.

towns. Kent, Surrey, and Sussex are ancient kingdoms. Between Thames and Humber there is nothing like this. Except Shropshire and Rutland, all the Mercian shires take their names from towns, Scrobbesbyrig-scire appears in the Chronicles in 1006, and the Scrobsætas in 1016; but Shrewsbury seems to stand to Shropshire as Dorchester to Dorset, and Rutlandshire is later than Domesday.

Elsewhere in Mercia, the divisions of peoples and realms have passed away, and all is comparatively new. No one could tell by looking at a list of English shires where was the territory of the Huiccians, or of the Gyrvii, or of the Gainas, or where was the See of the Middle-Angles, or of the Magesætas; the sponge of the Danish Conquest has wiped them all away.

We can only guess at the nature of the civil government of the Mercians before the first invasions of the Danes. We know that there were five Bishops' Sees: Lichfield, the mother of them all, with a diocese extending to the north-west; Lindsey, in the north-east; Leicester, including the south-east, and stretching southward to Thames; Worcester, bounded on the west by Severn, including the territory of the Huiccians; and Hereford, west of Severn. It is probable that the boundaries of civil and religious government were identical, and that the history of the government of each of these districts was much the same with that of the Huiccians: in very early days there were kings, then viceroys, and finally only ealdormen: but that each was an administrative district as really as was Dorset or Somerset, with its own bishop and its own secular governor, by whatever name he might be called. At any rate, it would seem that, towards the close of Mercian independence, the government of the realm under the king was vested in five aldermen, for the Chronicles relate that, in 825, "Ludecan, king of the Mercians, was slain, and his five aldormen with him." But the ancient system of the civil government of the Mercians is as clean gone as are the satrapies of the Persians, and an entirely new system had to be built up by King Alfred and his successors.

It is clear, however, that the present system of Mercian shires was not framed by King Alfred. To begin with, he had no authority to the north-east of Watling Street; and, moreover, the line of division agreed on by him and Guthrum in 878 was not followed in later days by those who laid down the shire divisions. The boundary line was this: "Along Thames, thence up on Lea, along Lea to her source, thence straight to Bedford, then up by Ouse to Watling Street."[1] The river Lea divides Essex from Middlesex and Hertfordshire as far as Stanstead; but from that point the boundary line along Lea to the source, and thence by Bedford to Watling Street, is quite off the existing divisions of the shires. Watling Street again cuts right across Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire, Staffordshire and Shropshire, and only forms a division between shires for about twenty miles on the north-east of Warwickshire. It is quite clear that the existing divisions were laid down so long after the boundary of 878 was fixed between Danes and English, that the state of things to which it referred had quite passed away, and the whole of the ancient Mercian realm was once more under a single hand.

Again, there is a series of entries in the account of the wars of the Lady of the Mercians and Edward the Elder, where districts are spoken of as being dependent on towns in such a way that we should certainly expect shires to be mentioned if such administrative districts with well-defined boundaries had already been carved out. The passages are these:—

918. The whole army landed, and would go again to plunder in Irchingfield. Then there met them the men of Hereford, and of Gloucester, and of the nearest burhs, and fought with them, and put them to flight.

918. Eorl Thurcytel sought him to be his lord, and all the chiefs,[2] and almost all the principal men who owed

[1] *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, 66.

[2] *Hold*, a title introduced into England by the Danes, probably a holder of allodial land.

obedience[1] to Bedford, and also many of those who owed obedience to Northampton.

921. After Harvest went King Edward with the West Saxon force to Passanhamme, and sat there while they surrounded the fortress at Towcester with a stone wall, and there turned to him, Eorl Thurferth, and the chiefs,[1] and all the army which owed obedience to Northampton, as far north as Welland,[2] and sought him to be their lord and protector.

The army which owed obedience to Cambridge chose him specially to be their lord and protector.

922. King Edward went with his force to Stamford, and bid build the burh on the south side of the stream; and all the people which owed obedience to the northern town bowed to him, and sought him to be their lord.

924. And the King went thence into Peakland to Bakewell, and bid build and man a burh nigh thereto.

There seems to be no trace of administrative districts; but both on the English and Danish sides of Watling Street, Hereford and Gloucester in the West, Bedford, Northampton, Cambridge, Stamford in the East, formed simply a series of military centres round which the forces of the neighbourhood might rally in case of need. Of course neither Alfred nor Edward could have carved out shires for Bedford, Northampton, or Cambridge; but certainly if definite shires had been assigned to Hereford and Gloucester by 918 we should have expected that the Chronicles would have mentioned them. "The men of Herefordshire and Gloucestershire" would seem a more natural expression than "the men of Hereford and Gloucester, and of the nearest burhs." If, moreover, a district known as Derbyshire had existed in 924, we should have expected to find it

[1] *Hyran*, to obey, be subject to, belong to. The same Old English word is used in the subsequent extracts.

[2] Northamptonshire is bounded on the north by Welland. The sentence might be taken to mean that the sphere of influence of Northampton really extended north of Welland, but that some other influence, possibly that of the Danes in Leicester, predominated beyond the river.

mentioned in the entry under that year. But in fact we find no mention of Mercian shires in any document written before A.D. 1000, so far as I know; and there is only one case in the Chronicles in which a Mercian shire is mentioned before that date. In the Abingdon Chronicle, C, under the year 980, occurs this entry—"& thy ilcan geare wæs Legeceaster scire gehergod fram Northscipherige." "And this same year Cheshire was plundered by a fleet of Northmen." But this MS. is written apparently in the same hand to 1046, and afterwards in different hands;[1] so that the entry cannot have been written down until at least sixty-six years after 980, and it affords no real evidence for the existence of a district known as Cheshire in 980.

Ethelwerd wrote a Chronicle, chiefly from a West-Saxon point of view, for the instruction of his relation Matilda who died in 1011; and as his Chronicle is carried down to the death of King Eadgar in 975, it must have been completed between those dates. In relating the raid of Ethelmund on the day of King Ecgbyrht's accession, he says: "Transeunte per quoddam prædium quod Huuiccum nuncupatur, volens ad vadum quod dicitur Cynemaeres forda, ibique ei occurrit Uuexstan dux cum centuriis populi provinciæ Uuilsætum."[2] Ethelwerd is paraphrasing the entry in the Old English Chronicle, but he is sufficiently far from the original to give him an opportunity of mentioning Gloucestershire instead of the district of the Huiccians, if such a name had already existed and he had cared to use it.

We have thus come to the year 1000, or within sixteen years of the date when we know that Gloucestershire was already in existence, without finding any trace either of that name or of any other Mercian shire, as used by a contemporary writer. It need not be said that such transparent fictions as the foundation Charter of Medeshamstede, and the Croyland Charters, are disregarded. In a Charter purporting to have been granted by King Eadgar to the Monastery at Ely in 970, which exists both in Old English

[1] *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, 76. [2] *M. H. B.*, 509.

and in Latin, the King bestowed "the fourth penny on the public penalties in Cambridge" (thone feorthan pening on Grantabricge); which the Latin translates—"quartum nummum reipublice in provincia Grantaceaster." Kemble stigmatises the whole document, and adds a note: "The Latin version of this charter, which seems to me more modern than the Saxon which follows it, is peculiarly the object of suspicion. The Saxon charter itself bears marks of authenticity." It will be noted that the Old English Charter has nothing to say about a "provincia." The earliest instance of the existence of a sheriff of any Mercian shire occurs in the record of a Herefordshire shire-moot, in the time of Cnut;[1] and the first Mercian sheriff mentioned in the Chronicles is Ælfnoth, Sheriff of Herefordshire in 1056. Of course the evidence is merely negative, and therefore is liable to be modified by the discovery of fresh facts at any time; but at any rate, the absence of any mention of the Mercian shires is very suggestive.

Clearly Mercia could not have been mapped out into shires before the death of Edward the Elder; the work of division is not attributed to any Saxon king during the tenth century, and in fact it does not appear that any condition of things arose till quite the end of that century which would make such a division necessary. I believe that just as the former series of Danish invasions, which were finally met by King Alfred, had wiped out all trace of the ancient civil divisions of Mercia, so the later series, in the reign of Ethelred the Unready, were the final cause which led to the parcelling out of the amorphous mass of territory which lay between Thames and Humber into manageable districts.

It is clear that the portion of the Chronicle relating to the period lying between 997 and 1016, which tells the story of the last and worst of the Danish invasions, is the work of one who was living at the time. Not only is the story told in such a way as to imply personal knowledge, but expres-

[1] Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, DCCLV.

sions occur from time to time which betray the hand of an eye-witness. Such expressions are these:—

1009. "Hence everywhere in Sussex, and in Hampshire, and also in Berkshire, they ravaged and plundered as their wont is."

"All the people were ready to attack them. But it was then prevented through Ealdorman Eadric, as it ever yet has been."

"And oft they fought against the City of London; but praise be to God that it yet stands safe, and there they ever fared ill."

1016. The army "proceeded into Mercia, and slew and burned whatsoever they overran, as is their wont, and got for themselves food."

These expressions could only have been used almost at the time of writing; for on the accession of Cnut, at the end of 1016, the ravages of the Danes ceased, and Eadric was put to death by him in 1017.

1012. On the morrow after the martyrdom of St. Ælfeg, "the body was carried to London, and the Bishops Eadnoth and Ælfhun and townsmen received it with all reverence, and buried it in St. Paul's Minster; and there God now makes manifest the holy martyr's might." This must have been written before June 8th, 1023, when the body was translated to Canterbury. And it is in this part of the Chronicles that we first find mention of the Mercian shires. The following table shows the date at which each shire is first mentioned; the date after the shire-town showing that it was mentioned at an earlier date.

	—scir.
Deoraby, 917, C.	1045
Snotengaham, 868, A	1016
Lindcylene, 942, A	1016
Scrobbesbyrig	1006
Stafforda, 913, C	1016
Ligeraceaster, 917, A	
Hereforda, 918, A	1048

	—scir.
Wigeraceastre, 992, E	1038
Gleaweceastre, 918, A	1016
Wærincwic, 915, D	1016
Hamtun, 917, A	1011
Huntandune, 921, A	1011
Grantebrycge, 875, A	1010
Oxnaforda, 910, D	1010
Bedanford, 919, A	1011
Buccingahamme, 918, A	1010
Heorotford, 913, A	1011

It is certainly a very striking and suggestive fact, that though none of the Mercian shires appear by name before 1000, no fewer than thirteen of them are mentioned by the contemporary Chronicles in the first sixteen years of the eleventh century; after that period they afford the usual method of fixing localities, and it is to officers of the shires that the king's writs are directed. I believe that Mercia was mapped out into shires not only for military purposes, but also to facilitate the provision of the ships ordered to be built in 1008, and that the scheme was one of the first plans carried into effect by Eadric, who was set as Ealdorman over the realm of the Mercians in 1007. Shropshire is the only shire mentioned before 1008, and that appears as marking the region to which King Ethelred fled in 1006, only two years before. A contemporary writer might easily fall into so slight an anachronism as this.

It is quite clear that the assessment for the ships was by districts, each region contributing in proportion to its extent and means.[1] It is evident also that inland districts had to contribute as well as the shires on the coast, for Archbishop Ælfric, who died on November 16th, 1005, left in his will one ship to the folk in Kent, and another to Wiltshire. He had been Bishop of the Wiltshiremen before his translation to Canterbury, and he wished to relieve the burden of

[1] On the subject of this taxation, reference may be made to Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, i. 339, and Note LL.

taxation on his flocks.[1] Now there would be no difficulty in assessing the old West-Saxon realm, for the shires were comparatively small, and no doubt possessed their staff of officials to whom the work might be committed. But between Thames and Humber there is no evidence at all to show that there were any stated administrative divisions for military, or indeed for any secular purposes, larger than the Hundreds.[2] It would clearly be a very great help to good government in all respects if that huge and shapeless mass of territory were portioned out into areas of a manageable size.

It is certain that, towards the end of the eleventh century, Eadric was credited with very considerable interference with ancient boundary lines. Heming, a monk of Worcester in the time of St. Wulfstan, 1062—1065, writes of him thus: "In the time when Edric, whose cognomen was Streona, that is, 'adquisitor,' first under King Athelred, and afterwards for a while under Cnut, was set over the whole realm of the English, and held dominion over it like an under-king, insomuch that he joined hamlets to villages and districts to districts at his will, for the county of Winchcombe, which then was independent, he joined to the County of Gloucester.[3] He being possessed of so great power, by force and might stole from the possession of this monastery three villages in the time of Bishop Leofsige."

It is certain that there was once a district of Winchcombe, for an agreement made between the Bishops of Hereford and Worcester concerning rights at Beckford and Cheltenham, at the great Synod of Cloveshoe, October 12th, 803, when the Arch-bishopric of Lichfield was abolished, is headed, "Into

[1] Thorpe, Dipl., 549; K., *C. D.*, iii. 352.

[2] The Hundreds certainly appear to be of great antiquity. But it must not be forgotten that they are actually mentioned for the first time only in the laws of Edgar.

[3] Quasi subregulus dominabatur, in tantum ut villulas villulis et provincias provinciis pro libito adjungeret, nam vice-comitatum de Wincelcumb quæ per se tunc erat vice-comitatui Gloeceastre adjunxit. (Heming, *Cartulary*, 280; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, i. 598.)

Wincelcumbe scire."[1] And the schedule of Gloucestershire lands belonging to the Church of Evesham in Domesday closes with the note: "In ferdingo de Wincelcumbe habuit S. Maria de Evesham LVI. hidas." This is the precise number of hides accounted for in the record, and the note shows that even seventy years after the death of Eadric the former independence of Winchcombe was not forgotten.

If, moreover, we examine the hidage of the Mercian shires, we shall see that the system bears every mark of being an artificial one; that it did not grow up naturally, but that it was made, that it was impressed on the face of the land without regard to the ancient distribution of the peoples, or the divisions of the dioceses. The shires of Lincoln, Northampton, Bedford, Buckingham, Leicester, Huntingdon, Oxford, Cambridge, and Hertford were indeed almost conterminous with the great Diocese of Dorchester though Hertfordshire includes the Deaneries of St. Alban's and Braughing from the Diocese of London. But there the close resemblance ceased. Warwickshire lay partly in Lichfield, partly in Worcester. Shropshire, partly in Lichfield, partly in Hereford. Gloucestershire, partly in Worcester, partly in Hereford. The ancient realm of the Huiccians was portioned out into the shires of Gloucester, Worcester, and part of Warwick; and the district between Wye and Severn, including the Forest of Dene, was taken from the territory of the Hecanas, and added to that of the Huiccian shire of Gloucester.

Again, we may trace a very close numerical relation between the hidage of the Mercian shires, a relation much more close than any one which would have been likely to arise by any process of natural growth. The following table is taken from Professor Maitland's *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 456; the first four columns give different forms of a table of hidage which Dr. Liebermann thinks was probably compiled in English, and in the eleventh century; the last column gives Professor Maitland's reckoning of the

[1] This document first appears in Heming's *Cartulary*.

Domesday hidage of each shire, omitting the boroughs. With regard to this last point, the hidage of the boroughs certainly ought to have been included in the reckoning.

	A	B	C	D	E
Wiltshire	4,800	4,800	4,800	4,800	4,050
Bedfordshire	1,200	1,000	1,200	1,200	1,193
Cambridgeshire ...	2,500	2,500	2,005	2,500	1,233
Huntingdonshire....	850*	850*	800½	850	747
Northamptonshire..	3,200	4,200	3,200	3,200	1,356
Gloucestershire ...	2,400	2,000	2,400	3,400	2,388
Worcestershire ...	1,200	1,500	1,200	1,200	1,189
Herefordshire ...	1,500	1,500	1,005	1,200	1,324
Warwickshire ...	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,338
Oxfordshire	2,400	2,400	2,400	2,400	2,412
Shropshire	2,300	2,400	2,400	2,400	1,245
Cheshire...	1,300	1,200	1,200	1,200	512
Staffordshire	500	500	...	500	505

A. Cotton, *Claudius*, B vii., f. 204 b; Kemble, *Saxons*, i. 493.

B. Cotton, *Vespasian*, A xviii., f. 112 b; Kemble, *Saxons*, i. 494.

C. Gale, *Scriptores*, xv., p. 748, from a Croyland MS.

D. M.S. Jes. Coll. Oxon.: Morris, *Old English Miscellanies*, p. 145.

E. Domesday.

* In Huntedunescyre sunt dccc hide et dimid. This means eight and a half hundreds.

In the first place we may notice that the table is worthy of some considerable credit; the numbers in the four documents are fairly consistent with each other, and in many cases there is a close correspondence with the Domesday figures. For instance, the numbers for Bedfordshire, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Oxfordshire, and Staffordshire agree very closely, so closely that any idea that they can be owing to mere coincidence must certainly be set aside. In other cases, such as Cambridgeshire, Shropshire, and perhaps Cheshire, the Domesday hidage is about half that given by the table; yet again the figures given for Northamptonshire seem to be quite inexplicable as they stand. With regard to the last case, Professor Maitland points out that a Northamptonshire Geld Roll of about 1075 gives

2,663 hides, about double the amount at which the shire was assessed in Domesday.

We see then that the table as it stands is worthy of attention. And looking at it more carefully, we shall be struck by its artificial character. It is not that round numbers are used,—that, in stating considerable sums, would be expected; nor again that the actual numbers in the Domesday column do not agree with the numbers given in the earlier scheme, for an existing condition of things cannot be squeezed into the mould of an artificial system, there will always be ragged edges. The artificial nature of the scheme is shown by the fact, that of the twelve Mercian shires included, no fewer than eight—Bedfordshire, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Warwickshire, Oxfordshire, Shropshire, and Cheshire—all appear in the table with 1,200 or twice 1,200 hides, and Cambridgeshire appears in Domesday reduced almost exactly to that unit.[1] Huntingdonshire contains about two-thirds of 1,200 hides, and the 500 hides attributed to Staffordshire correspond with the Domesday sum.

Northamptonshire is altogether anomalous. If, however, we suppose that the excessive hidage attributed to "Northamptonshire" includes not only the 1,356 Domesday hides belonging to that shire, but also the 2,500 hides attributed to Leicestershire which does not appear in the scheme, we have a total of 3,856 hides—a sum which lies between the extremes attributed to "Northamptonshire." It will be seen that Leicestershire is not mentioned in the Chronicles at all before the Conquest. It may, therefore, have been a shire of late formation.

Even in Domesday, however, Northamptonshire includes places which now lie in Rutlandshire, Warwickshire, Oxfordshire, Bedfordshire, and Huntingdonshire.[2] Neither Derbyshire nor Nottinghamshire is mentioned in the scheme.

[1] London also seems to have gelded at 1,200 hides; that is to say, at a separate shire. (*Domesday and Beyond*, 409 N.1).

[2] Ellis, *Introduction to Domesday*, I. § 4.

Professor Maitland reckoned 679 hides in Derbyshire and 567 hides in Notts; giving a total of 1,246 hides, a result closely agreeing with an unit of 1,200 hides. These two shires were evidently closely connected together, they were under a single Sheriff, and the account of the two shire-towns stands on the same page in Domesday. Nottinghamshire appears in the Chronicles in 1016, Derbyshire not till 1045; it may not have acquired a separate existence till some little time after the scheme of shires had been mapped out. It is possible, of course, that Shropshire, Derbyshire, and Nottinghamshire are all included under the excessive hidage attributed by the scheme to Shropshire.

Rutlandshire does not appear as a separate shire in Domesday. Roteland appears under that heading at the end of the account of Nottinghamshire, and the index of its seven tenants *in capite* is placed just after the index of the thirty Nottinghamshire tenants; parts of Rutlandshire are also described under the headings of Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire. But evidently the shire had not acquired a separate existence in 1087. The discrepancy between the hidage attributed to Cheshire in the scheme, and the much smaller number of hides found in the shire in 1087, may be accounted for by the fact that Cheshire was a border territory. The part of Lancashire which lies between the Ribble and the Mersey, containing six hundreds and one hundred and eighty manors, is in Domesday reckoned to lie in Cheshire; and it may be that the scheme intended to include a much larger part of that northern territory in Cheshire.

Thus we seem to learn with considerable certainty these points with regard to the Mercian shire-system:—

1. There is no mention of it before A.D. 1000.

2. Most of the shires were in existence within sixteen years of that date; but the system was not complete when Domesday Book was compiled in 1087.

3. The system consisted of mapping out the region between Thames and Humber into districts containing about 1,200 or twice 1,200 hides.

4. These artificial areas were, with two exceptions, planned to include certain towns; and the shire took its name from the town.

5. This system was therefore quite independent of anything which may have existed before the Danish invasions of the ninth century; and it had no essential relation to the original distribution of nationalities, or to the ancient Diocesan boundaries.

And it is not difficult to see how the condition of things which led to the settling of the system may have grown up. The Chronicle under 894, in relating King Alfred's measures for meeting the Danish raids, tells us: "After this went they forth over the weald in bands and troops on whichever side was unprotected by the fyrd.[1] And men sought them out with other troops most every day, or by night; both from the fyrd, and also from the burhs. The King had divided his fyrd in two, so that they were always half at home, half out; besides the men who must needs hold the burhs." Here we find a triple division of forces. First the men on garrison duty, either in fortified towns such as Gloucester and Hereford, or in the burhs, the fortresses dependent on those towns, whose green ramparts stud the country so thickly in many parts of England; these no doubt were stationed near their own homes, and went about their daily work with sword and spear near at hand like the men of Nehemiah on the wall of Jerusalem. But the men of the fyrd must needs serve where they were summoned, and lest the land should go untended if all were absent, it was arranged that half should always be at home, and half in the field. But each man would know the point where he had to serve, whether on garrison duty in a fortress, or if with the fyrd then the rallying point whither he must hasten in case of alarm.

And some such system as this seems to have obtained on both sides of Watling Street in the reign of Edward the Elder. On the west we hear of the men of Gloucester and

[1] The national army or militia.

Hereford and the nearest burhs; the men, that is, on garrison duty in town and camp who could be quickly summoned to repel a passing foray.[1] On the east of the boundary we hear of the landowners, and men, and army, who owed obedience to Bedford, Northampton, Cambridge, and Stamford. In each case there are local military centres; but in neither case is there any trace of a "scire" or land-division, shorn off from the rest, and pertaining specially to that centre. The men must rally to their own centre, but the land was as yet an undivided whole. The old divisions had been wiped out, and new land-boundaries had not as yet been laid down.

Professor Maitland gives in *Domesday and Beyond*[2] a list of fortresses in the South of England, which was drawn up probably in the latter part of the reign of Edward the Elder. No shires are mentioned in the list, but I have arranged the fortresses under their shires, giving the number of hides attached to each fortress, with the sum for each shire; and also the number of hides in each shire as derived from other sources.[3]

Sussex,—Crowborough, 324; Hastings, 500; Lewes, 1,300; Burpham, 726; Chichester, 1,500:—4,350. D, 3,474.

Hampshire,—Porchester, 650; Southampton and Winchester, 2,400; Twyneham, 470:—3,520. D, 2,588.

Dorset,—Wareham, 1,600; Bredy, 1,760:—3,360. D, 2,321. E, 2,650.

Devon,—Exeter, 734; Halwell, 300; Lidford, 140; Pilton with Barnstable, 360:—1,534. D, 1,119.

Somerset,—Watchet, 513; Lyng, 100; Langport, 600; Axbridge, 400; Shaftesbury, 700:—2,313. D, 2,951. E, 3,488.

[1] A similar expression is used in the entry for 921 in reference to an expedition from Essex and Kent and Surrey for the reduction of Colchester. But this would seem to include both fyrd and garrisons.

[2] P. 502, *Cart. Sax.* 1,335.

[3] C. H., County Hidage, see p. 45; D, Professor Maitland's reckoning of hides in Domesday; E, Rev. R. W. Eyton's reckoning of Domesday; J, Rev. W. H. Jones' reckoning of Domesday.

Bath,—3,200.

Wilts,—Wilton, 1,400; Tisbury, 700; Malmesbury, 1,500; Cricklade, 1,300:—4,900. C. H., 4,800. D, 4,050. J, 3,996.

Berkshire,—Wallingford, 2,400. D, 2,473.

Surrey,—Eashing and Southwark, 1,800. D, 1,834.

Oxford,—2,400. C. H., 2,400. D, 2,412.

Buckingham (and Sceaflelege?), 1,500. D, 2,074.

Essex,—1,200. D, 2,650.

Worcester,—1,200. C. H., 1,200. D, 1,189.

Warwick,—2,404. C. H., 1,200. D, 1,338.

So far as the country south of Thames is concerned, this is evidently a scheme designed for the defence of the coast. In Sussex, Crowborough is the station for Pevensey Rape, and there is a fortress for each Rape. Porchester guarded Portsmouth Harbour, Southampton and Winchester protected Southampton Water, and the large area from which their defenders would be drawn showed the importance which was attached to this point. Twyneham or Christchurch guarded the valley of the Avon; Wareham, Poole Harbour; Bredy or Bridport, Lyme Bay; Exeter, the valley of the Exe; and Halwell, the valley of the Dart.

On the north, Pilton and Barnstable protected the valleys of Taw and Torridge; Watchet, the coast of North Devon and Somerset; Lyng or Athelney lay on the Tone; Langport and Axbridge guarded the great central marsh of Somerset, and Bath lay on the Avon.

It is probable that the area from which each fortress drew its defenders was not limited by the shire boundaries; but that, for instance, Bredy or Bridport might draw some of its defenders from South Somerset, and that most of the men assigned to Shaftesbury might come from South-East Somerset. But it is not easy to explain the excess of hidage attributed to the fortresses in Sussex and Hampshire over the hides afterwards found in those districts; for Wiltshire, Berkshire, and Surrey seem to have no hides to spare. And in Devon the hidage of the fortresses is nearly half as large again as the Domesday hidage.

The four Wiltshire fortresses were supported by nearly the number of hides assigned to Wiltshire in the table of shires (p. 45), and the 2,800 hides assigned to Malmesbury and Cricklade are almost exactly coincident with the 3,000 hides of land by Ashdown committed by Kenwalch to Cuthred in 648. This may therefore have been a very ancient military district. The number of hides assigned to Wallingford in Berkshire, and Eashing and Southwark in Surrey, is also almost exactly the same with the Domesday hidage. It is probable that these two districts were likewise self-contained for purposes of defence.

Before attempting to apply this table to the question of the origin of the Mercian shires, it will be well to consider the period at which the points north of Thames may have come into the possession of King Edward, and the circumstances under which he may have acquired them.

Bath was certainly Mercian until the reign of King Alfred; for Burhred, King of the Mercians, held a gemote there in 864. It may have come into King Edward's possession on the death of Ælfred, Reeve of Bath in 906, it must have done so on the death of the Lady of the Mercians. The Parker MS. of the Chronicle states that in 912 Ethelred, Ealdorman of the Mercians, died, and the King took possession of London, Oxford, and all the lands that pertained to them. That in 913 King Edward built a burh at Witham in Essex, which was strengthened in 920, and that in 918 he built a burh at Buckingham. And finally, that on June 12th, 922, Æthelflæd, the Lady of the Mercians, died, and that King Edward himself died in 925.

The short Mercian register inserted in the Abingdon Chronicle, however, states that Ethelred died in 911, and Æthelflæd on June 12th, 918.

It states also that in 919 King Edward deprived Ælfwyn, their daughter, of all power in Mercia, and took her away into Wessex. The death of King Edward is assigned to 924. There can be little doubt that these are the correct dates; there would therefore be a period of six years between the

death of Æthelflæd and that of her brother, and it is to this period of six years that I believe the table of fortresses is to be assigned.

The table seems to contain a complete account of the West Saxon fortresses, with a sketch of the military centres of that part of Mercia which had fallen into King Edward's hands.

Oxfordshire may very naturally represent the lands dependent on Oxford of which he took possession on the death of Alderman Ethelred.

Buckingham was very probably dependent upon London, but it seems to have fallen into the hands of the Danes, and to have been recovered by the King in 918. However, Buckinghamshire stretches to the east of Watling Street, and therefore the hidage of the table cannot be fairly compared with that of the later shire.

Essex was east of Alfred and Guthrum's line, and from the relatively small number of hides mentioned it is evident that the King had not complete possession of the land of the East Saxons.

Worcester was the capital of the old Huiccian realm, and Warwick lay just on the boundary. The Lady of the Mercians had built a fortress at Warwick in the autumn of 914.

It is very strange that Gloucester is not mentioned by name, for it was evidently the capital of Ethelred and Æthelflæd in the government of Mercia. Thither they brought the bones of St. Oswald from Bardney, and there they were both buried.

But as Bath appears it is clear that the scheme covers at least the whole area of the Huiccian kingdom, including Gloucestershire east of Severn, Worcestershire, and probably not only the part of Warwickshire which was Huiccian, but also the north-eastern portion up to Watling Street.

Gloucester, I believe, does not appear because it was the deliberate policy of Edward to abolish all traces of the

independence of Mercia. And therefore he transferred the military jurisdiction, which would naturally have belonged to Gloucester in the time of his sister, to Bath, which—Mercian though it had been—lay just on the edge of Wessex, and was therefore more directly under his power. If Bath were allowed to remain in Mercia for the time, the Mercians could not reasonably object to the transfer of military authority from one place to another in their own realm; and the period of the transference of Bath from Mercia to Wessex is quite uncertain. In this scheme it is clear that some of its dependent hides were drawn from Wessex and some from Mercia.

We have then the following fortresses with their dependent hides:—

Worcester	1,200 hides
Warwick	2,400 ,,
Bath	3,200 ,,
	6,800 ,,

And we have the following Huiccian shires:—

Worcester	1,189 hides
Warwick	1,338 ,,
Gloucester	2,388 ,,
	4,915 ,,

Giving an excess of 1,885 hides. If now we allow 700 Somerset hides to Bath, and consider that of the 2,400 hides allotted to Gloucestershire in the scheme on page 45, 1,200 were reckoned to Warwick and 1,200 were reckoned to Bath, we have 1,300 hides remaining; and if we conclude that these lay in Herefordshire, then we have accounted for all the shires which would seem to be included in the scheme. With regard to the division of the Gloucestershire hides, it will be remembered that there was originally a shire of Winchcombe as well as of Gloucester; and it may be that

each place had been the head of a 1,200-hide military district.

The 6,800 hides pertaining to Worcester, Warwick, and Bath would thus be accounted for :—

Somerset	... ...	700 hides
Warwick	... ...	1,200 ,,
Gloucester	... ...	2,400 ,,
Worcester	... ...	1,200 ,,
Hereford	... ...	1,300 ,,
		6,800 ,,

The subjection of what is now Herefordshire to Bath is not so strange as it might seem. The scheme is one of defence against the Danes, who could only attack Herefordshire from the upper part of the Bristol Channel, and Bath was by no means a bad centre for the defence of that district. It must be remembered also that at that time the Forest of Dene was dependent on Hereford and not on Gloucester; it lay in the Diocese of Hereford till 1541. So that in 920 the Diocese of Hereford, and therefore no doubt the civil district dependent on Hereford, extended to within less than twenty-five miles of Bath.

But it is probable that the scheme was in its details only a provisional one for dealing at the moment with a newly-acquired territory. Worcester and Warwick were within reach of the Danes, and must be well provided for. The rest was comparatively safe, and might for the present be attached to Bath in the place of Gloucester; the late capital of Mercia having been deposed.

But the point is, that we find in this scheme of Edward the Elder the 1,200-hide unit, which we recognised in the table of Mercian shires at least a century later. We have seen that the whole of what is now Essex and Buckinghamshire cannot have been in King Edward's hands when the scheme was compiled; but of the other three Mercian centres mentioned Worcester is credited with 1,200 hides,

and Warwick and Oxford with twice 1,200 hides. The territory allotted to Bath is clearly anomalous.

With regard to Warwick, we have seen that the only point at which Watling Street forms a shire-division is on the north-east frontier of Warwickshire; and it is more than likely that we have here the boundary of the old 1,200-hide military district of Warwick pushed by the Lady of the Mercians right out to Alfred and Guthrum's line.

Oxford is credited with 2,400 hides; Oxfordshire stands in the shire list at 2,400 hides, and contained in Domesday 2,412 hides.

Worcester is credited with 1,200 hides, just as it is in the shire list; and it included in Domesday 1,189 hides.

But although there were then garrison posts all over the country, there was only one army in Mercia and one army in Wessex. There is no trace, so far as I know, before A.D. 1,000 of a force being raised north of Thames from a smaller area than an Ealdormanship or ancient realm; and this must have made the task of national defence very difficult. It is likely enough that when the Mercian shires were formed early in the eleventh century they were formed, not simply for fiscal, but also for military purposes; and this being so, the old military divisions, where they existed, would form the most convenient areas.

If this were so, the words in the pitiful entry in the Chronicles for 1,010 have a very real meaning: "But although somewhat might then be counselled, it did not stand even a single month: at last there was no head man who would assemble the fyrd, but each fled as best he might; nor at the last would even one shire assist another." Even the new shire-system from which so much had been hoped had proved useless, and perhaps even harmful by splitting the land up into little isolated districts.

But military considerations were not the only ones which determined the boundaries of the shires. The chaotic character of the shire-boundaries on the north-east of Gloucestershire is chiefly caused by the fact that the ancient

estates of the Church of Worcester—Broadway, Cutsdean, Blockley, Shipston-on-Stour, Tidmington, Evenlode and Daylesford—were included in Worcestershire; and the ancient estates of the Church of Deerhurst—Todenham and Little Compton—were included in Gloucestershire, as were also the Deerhurst islands of Widford in Oxfordshire and Sutton Brailes in Warwickshire, and the Tewkesbury island of Shenington in Oxfordshire.

It is evident that great landowners, and especially great churches, were able to modify the shire boundaries to suit their own convenience. And even in the days of the Conqueror the Mercian shire-system was sufficiently fluid to permit of the carrying of estates from one shire into another. Under the head of "Terra Regis" in Herefordshire it is said that Roger de Pistres, Sheriff of Gloucestershire, had diverted into his own shire two hides and a half at "Niware," which formerly pertained to Bremesese Hundred in Herefordshire.[1] Edward of Salisbury, Sheriff of Wilts, held Woodchester near Stroud in the ferm of Wiltshire; unjustly, as the jurors say, because it belonged to no ferm.[2] Roger of Berchelai held one hide, less half a virgate, of the King's ferm at Chippenham in Wilts. This, we are told, was a perpresture or encroachment of Edric the Sheriff.[3] The land is probably the parish of Kingswood, near Wotton-under-Edge; for if the hide, less half a virgate, be added to the fifteen hides and half a virgate attributed to Wotton, the rating of that manor becomes an even sixteen hides. Edric was Sheriff of Wilts in the early days of the Conqueror's reign, and seems to have carried off this slice of Gloucestershire to eke out the profits of his Wiltshire ferm. Here there was a real change of shire after the Conquest, for Kingswood lay in Wilts till quite recent times. This fluidity of the shire-system is probably an indication that it had not been very long in existence.

Thus we see why it is so impossible to fix the limits of

[1] Domesday, f. 181. [2] f. 164.

[3] Wilts, xlv., Rogerii de Berchelai.

the areas mentioned in the old English list of early territorial names.[1] The men of the Peakland, of Elmet, of Lindsey, of Holland, of Spalding, of the Chilterns are recognised; but their land-divisions are gone. It is the difference between the map of France in Provinces and in Departments. Britanny, Normandy, Isle of France, Burgundy,—there is the history of the peoples and of the country written on the map. Finisterre, Cotes du Nord, Seine et Oise, Yonne,—there is the artificial system that has taken its place. And what the French Revolution was to the map of France, that the Danish Invasions were to the map of the land between Thames and Humber.

[1] Cart. Sax. 297, A and B. Earle, *Land Charters*, 458. Professor Earle says of these documents: "There are five several copies of it, one in Saxon, and four in Latin. The Saxon copy is not only the oldest of the five, being of the tenth or eleventh century, but it contains traces of archaism which suggest a much higher antiquity." The list of fortresses referred to is a continuation of one of the Latin copies.

THE MOATS OR WATERFORTS OF THE VALE OF THE SEVERN.

By G. ARTHUR CARDEW, M.R.C.S.

My paper will consist of a few short and discursive notes on that part of the Severn Vale which lies between the river Severn and the Cotswolds, limited to the north by a line drawn from Tewkesbury to the hills and to the south by another drawn from Gloucester to Birdlip. I shall first give the course of the streams of that portion which have their origin in the east from the western declivities of the Cotswold Hills. I shall then draw attention to certain ancient fortified posts which are to be found on their banks, and lastly the communications that formerly and still partly exist between them.

I may at once say that the historical period of this district, with which I shall deal, will be all pre-Domesday or pre-Norman.

THE STREAMS THAT WATER THIS DISTRICT.

The first, commencing from the north, and a very large one, is the Swillgate, commonly pronounced the Swillet; it falls into the Severn at Tewkesbury, and it was on its banks that the battle of Tewkesbury was fought. This river is formed by the union of three streams: (1) the Dean brook, the most northerly branch, arising at the foot of Nottingham Hill, at its north-west extremity and flowing due west; (2) the Hyde brook, which arises on the side of Cleeve Hill, and runs a westerly course; (3) and the southerly branch, Wyman's brook, which arises on the side of the Hewletts, and by its junction with the Hyde brook forms the Swillgate. The next river is the Chelt. It falls into the Severn at Wainlode, or the wagon lode or ford. It arises at Chelt head just

outside the western boundary of Sandywell Park, close by the western end of the railway tunnel that runs under the Park. It runs north-west, south-west, and west, and it receives no large branches throughout its course. One small stream that passes through Dowdeswell Court, however, falls into it just above the Cheltenham Corporation Dowdeswell reservoir. Another larger stream, arising above Bafford, in Charlton Kings, falls into the Chelt in the grounds of Charlton House. This word Bafford is probably a corruption of Berford—Ber meaning water,—and there are similar names in the county, one for example being Bar Bridge on the Chelt in Uckington. The third river is the Hatherley brook; this falls into the Severn at Longford. It arises on the side of Leckhampton Hill, just below Blackedge. It has a tributary called Norman's brook, which commences at Crickley, and flowing through Badgeworth falls into the Hatherley brook just by Brickhampton Farm. So far, we see, all the river and stream names are very ancient; but whether this one is called after the "North men," or simply takes its name from a man of the name of Norman, it is difficult to find out. The last and most southerly branch I shall deal with is Horsebere brook; it commences in the Witcombe valley and falls into the Severn at Longford, joining the Hatherley brook just before that point. Here again in this name we find "Ber" connected with water. In going over the names of these streams we may notice that we have three with wholly or partly Celtic names; viz., Wyman's brook (from "Wy" water and probably "myn" little), the Chelt, and Horsebere brook.

Having now pointed out the position, names and directions of these streams in relation to the hills and the river Severn, I want to draw attention to a series of forts or moats which are scattered throughout this area.

At first sight they appear to be located without any method, and without any connection with one another; but on studying them more closely, I think it will be clear that they have a regular design for a definite object, and more or less regular connection by roads. First of all, we

must consider what is meant by the word "moat." Skeat says that "it is a trench round a fort filled with water. Originally it meant either the mound thrown up, or the ditch dug out." In Ireland it is still the term given to the stone or the earthen mound, containing kistvaens or sepulchral chambers. Some of the court houses in England are called the moat, or mute, or moot hall. The public courts of the Saxon were called Witten mote. I must now point out to you the position of these moats.

On the river Swillgate, on the Dean brook branch, is the Gotherington Moat, and on the Hyde brook branch is the Prestbury Moat.

On the Chelt there are three—the Leigh Moat, the Boddington Moat, the Uckington Moat; and at one time a fourth, the Sandford Moat. On the Hatherley brook is the Sandhurst Moat, Bengrove Moat, the Down Hatherley Moat, and the Leckhampton Moat. On tributaries of the Hatherley brook are the Bentham Moat, the Urrist Barn Moat, and Hunt Court Moat. On the Horsebere brook is Elmbridge Court Moat.

What were these moats made for, and by whom? Are they Romano-British, Saxon, or Medieval? I hope we may be able to answer these questions satisfactorily, after we have considered the meaning of their names, their situations, and individual peculiarities. I will tabulate them by the origin of their names first. Those with British names are six in number; viz., Boddington, Sandford, Sandhurst, Bengrove at Sandhurst, Leckhampton, and Bentham. The Saxon are eight in number—Gotherington, Leigh, Prestbury, Uckington, Down Hatherley, Hunt Court, Urrist Barn at Little Shurdington, and Elmbridge. So we see that of these fourteen moats of which I am speaking, six have evidence in their name of being British, the remainder being Saxon.

BRITISH-NAMED MOATS.

Boddington has a British prefix, "Bod," meaning a dwelling, as we find in Bodmin and Boscawen. Sandford

and Sandhurst both have the prefix "Sand," a corruption of "sarn," a pavement or a road; both are on ancient roads. Sandford is on the old Chelt and Bath road, for which Mr. Sawyer has adduced good evidence of being Romano-British and paved; whilst Sandhurt is on, or close to, a Romano-British road running north from Gloucester, and which once formed part of the western trackway which runs north and south along the eastern shore of the Severn. Bengrove Farm Moat is another one in the parish of Sandhurst; the prefix "Ben" is not uncommon in this part of the county, there being Ben's Tump on Cleeve Hill and Bentham, where there used also to be a moat; but whether we are at all justified in thinking that this is the Ben which means a headland or hill, I very much doubt; more probably it was a family name, and therefore it might prove to be Saxon. Another illustration of the name Ben is to be found at Bensey, near Warrington, Lancashire. In the church of Warrington is a monument to Sir John and Lady Butler, Knight; the murder of the former in 1463 is thus related in a Bodleian MS:—"Sir John Butler, Knight, was slaine in his bedde by the procurement of Lord Stanley, Sir Piers Legh and Mister William Savage joining with him in that action (corrupting his servant), his porter setting a light in a window to give light upon the water that was about his house at Bensey. They came over the moate in leather boates, and so to his chamber, where one of his servants named Houlcroffe was slaine, being his chamberlain: the other basely betrayed his master—they payed him a great rewarde, and so coming away with him they hanged him at a tree in Bensey Park." Leckhampton has a British prefix of "Lec," a stone.

I am afraid it will be thought that I have rather stretched the point in wishing to show a British origin for these moats. At any rate, it is easy to prove the early Saxon origin of most of them from their names.

"Leigh," a clearing: Boddington and Uckington have the Saxon patronymic "ing"; Prestbury the Saxon "burgh," an

earthwork. Leckhampton moat, besides its Saxon ending, is next to the Bury Farm, if not actually part of it. Hatherleigh, Bentham, Elmbridge, and Hunt Court have all Saxon as part of their names; also, Urrist Barn, which probably is a Gloucestershire provincialism, Hurst being Saxon for wood or thicket.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MOATS.

GOTHERINGTON MOAT

Is nearly all filled in now and a farm-house stands on it. It was apparently square and of a large size, the platform not being appreciably raised above the surrounding land. It is on the Green Lane from Nottingham Hill, which runs east and west.

PRESTBURY MOAT

I described in a communication to the Cheltenham Natural Science Society, but must give a short *resumé* of it. Before doing so, I may suggest the probability of its being British in origin, for to it leads a Romano-British road called "Shaw Greenlane." A Prestbury street also leads to it from the south, called "The Burgage," and I see no reason why this is not only a corruption from Burgege, the Bury-way, any more than Stanwege means Stone-way and Horsage the Horse-way. It was probably here stood the "fayre moated house," mentioned by Leland in his *Itinerary*. This bury or moat is situate near the northern boundary of the parish, at the eastern extremity of Prestbury Park. It consists of a large piece of land surrounded by a broad and deep ditch; to the east of it are the remains of another moat, not so large and complete, and a less deep ditch. The western one is square, and it is either Celtic or Saxon, whilst the eastern one is probably a medieval extension. I suggest, then, that the western portion is the original Bury of the Saxons, either constructed by them or existing there on their arrival, and probably used by them; then a medieval house was built on the spot, and finally it was destroyed, leaving only the

foundations. The shape of the fort is all but square, the north and south fences being 100 yards long and the east and west fences 112 yards. The ditch is 36 feet wide and 4 feet to 6 feet deep. In the centre are the marks of the foundations of an old house, divided into four compartments, and in the S.E. compartment or room is an old well, which is covered over, and the cover seven inches below the surface. The eastern earthworks are evidently an addition of later construction; the northern fence is not continuous with the north face of the Bury itself, but at right angles with the eastern one, striking it to the south of the northern face. It is 93 yards long and is 6 feet deep. The eastern face is 134 yards long, and is from 4 feet to 6 feet deep.

THE LEIGH MOAT

Is situate in the Leigh parish, on the western trackway; it is 70 yards square, with a raised external bank on the east, and has a distinct raised platform: on it now stands a modern farmhouse.

THE BODDINGTON MOAT.

Of this moat little remains. It lies to the south of the river Chelt. A fine medieval mansion stands on the site.

THE UCKINGTON MOAT

Lies on the banks of the Chelt, and a modern house stands on it. It is not rectangular: its north face is about 100 yards long, south face 170 yards, and east and west 150. The platform is raised, especially towards the south. There is an outside bank at the southern side. The southern ditch has been probably enlarged.

THE SANDFORD MOAT, CHELTENHAM.

An old resident in Sandford Terrace told me that he personally knew that a moated house stood on the land behind the terrace, and that it was not all filled up when he was a boy,

sixty years ago. It was on the south side of the Chelt, near to the Sandford, on the Sandford Street, or Old Bath Road.

SANDHURST MOAT

Is on the Hatherley brook (north side) and has a farmhouse on it. The south and west faces have been filled in, the northern trench drained, but there is water in the western face. It must have been about 60 yards each way, and the platform is not raised.

BENGROVE FARM MOAT,

Also in the Sandford parish, has also been much altered. The northern trench has been prolonged to make a pond, and all the other faces filled in; but the western face can still be traced. They were 50 to 60 yards long. The old house was pulled down some years ago. The platform was slightly raised. These moats lie one on either side of the Sandhurst Lane.

HATHERLEY MOAT.

By the courtesy of Mrs. Jones, I was able to make a full inspection of Down Hatherley moat. It is perhaps the most remarkable of all these that I am describing. It is by far the largest of all, enclosing several acres of land. Half of it has been filled in and levelled, the northern and eastern faces, however, being intact, and a fragment of the western one. The northern side is fully 150 yards long, and the eastern face is almost double that length. They say it was once divided into two by a trench running across the centre from east to west, making a northern and southern fort, the house standing on the southern one. There is no history or sign of walls or towers around the moat.

LECKHAMPTON MOAT,

In the field opposite the west end of the church, is one of peculiar interest, as being recognised by archæologists as of very ancient date, and probably pre-Saxon. It is an

irregular four-sided fort, with a raised platform. There is some evidence of medieval buildings having once stood there. It stands on the western side of the old Sandford and Shurdington road. Some consider it to have been a village fortress.

BENTHAM MOAT

Has all been drained and mostly filled in. It is possible, however, to trace the old line of the ditch; and Miss Bubb, who resides in the very interesting and quaint old mansion that stands on it, very kindly showed me round and pointed out where it used to be. It was about 100 yards along each face; the angles are not true right angles; and the platform could have been but slightly raised. It is on the Crickley brook, a branch of the Hatherley brook.

URRIST BARN MOAT,

Near Little Shurdington, is, in my opinion, the most pathetically interesting of all. It is on the western side of a very ancient lane, which is more or less the continuation of the road from Sandford, *viâ* Leckhampton, to Shurdington, and on to Bentham. There it remains, deserted, uncared for, a picture of desolation, its silence covering probably whole chapters of history never to be read or unfolded. It is the smallest of all I have seen, each face measuring only 50 yards, but having a markedly raised platform. There is no evidence of any house having stood on it.

HUNT COURT MOAT.

No house stands on this one, but a farmhouse is by its side.

ELMBRIDGE COURT MOAT,

On the Horsebere brook, is a perfect example of a moated house. It measures about 90 yards each way; the platform is slightly raised and on it stands a new house, which has recently supplanted an old one. Some remarkable earth-

works are to be seen in an adjoining field, but what their object was is not clear.

Had these moats any connection with one another, or use in common, or are they simply placed by chance, without any connection, but simply isolated units? My own opinion is that they do stand in very close relation to one another with one common object, and for the general benefit of the vale tribes. Just notice that the Great Western trackway runs parallel with the Severn and close to it; that the ancient trackways from the hills ran more or less along the course of the streams; that these moats command the course of these streams, and that the most important lines of communication had the greatest number on them; that those furthest from the base, namely, the Severn, were most numerous, and lie close up to and under the very foot of the hills, the borderland or marches of the vale.

One other point of interest is worth noticing, that every moated fort at the foot of the hills is a counterpoint to Romano-British and British forts on the hills: thus Gotherington lies under Nottingham Hill with Cockbury; Prestbury is under Cleeve Cloud Camp and Hewletts; Sandford moat is opposed to Battledown and Leckhampton; Leckhampton moat to Leckhampton Hill Camp; Urrist Barn and Bentham to Crickley; Hunt Court and Elmbridge to Churchdown.

This line of easterly moats are all united by continuous and ancient roads running along the foot of the hills, commencing at Gotherington and passing through Woodmancote, and in times gone by to the east of Pigeon House Farm and Southam Chapel, to the west of Southam de la Bere, through Prestbury, Bouncer's Lane, Hales Road, Old Bath Road, Leckhampton, Shurdington, Bentham, and then into the "Ermine Street." I have marked it on the map as the "Eastern Trackway." Roads of communication ran from this road westward to the great Western Trackway of the Severn. The first most northerly is one from the Green Lane, Gotherington, *viâ* Tredington, into the Hoo Lane, and

so to the Severn near Deerhurst. The next from Southam, Cate-gate Lane, *viâ* the Hyde and Swindon, and Old Gloucester road. The third from Hewletts, called the Greenway, passing through Cudnall, Cheltenham, and Old Gloucester Road to Gloucester. The fourth, another Greenway from the Crippetts, by Shurdington, *viâ* Badgeworth, Norman's Bridge, and Churchdown; and the fifth, the "Ermine Street."

The westerly moats lying on or contiguous to the great Western Trackway are, the Leigh, Sandhurst and Bengrove. The intermediate moats are, on the Chelt, Boddington and Uckington, and on Hatherley Brook, Hunt Court. A good description of a vale moat is given by the Rev. T. Melland Hall, M.A., Rector of Harescombe, in a paper on "Haresfield, its Manor and Church," published in the *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society*, volume xix., part ii., 1894-95, pages 280 and 281. I take the liberty of quoting it verbatim:—"On the north side of the Church, and adjoining the churchyard, is a very striking entrenchment, the work probably of the Saxon, or the Dane. [I may note here that this work lies at the foot of the Haresfield Beacon, on which is a very powerful Romano-British Camp.] It consists of a mound somewhat in the shape of a horseshoe, standing nearly 10 feet above the level of the adjoining land, measuring 78 yards from north to south and 68 yards from east to west. This mound (now used as a garden) is surrounded by a moat or ditch, 18 feet wide and still 9 feet deep. In the centre of the mound is a level platform about 35 yards square, standing 2 feet and 6 inches high, and between this central platform and the main moat, running parallel with the latter, is a slight ditch and bank, which was probably surmounted by a stockade, the whole work forming a strong vale fort very similar to that of Leckhampton, near Cheltenham." Clarke, in his *Mediæval Military Architecture*, says: "These works, thrown up in England in the ninth and tenth centuries, are seldom, if ever, rectangular. First was cast up a truncated cone of earth, standing at its natural slope from 12 to even 50 or 60

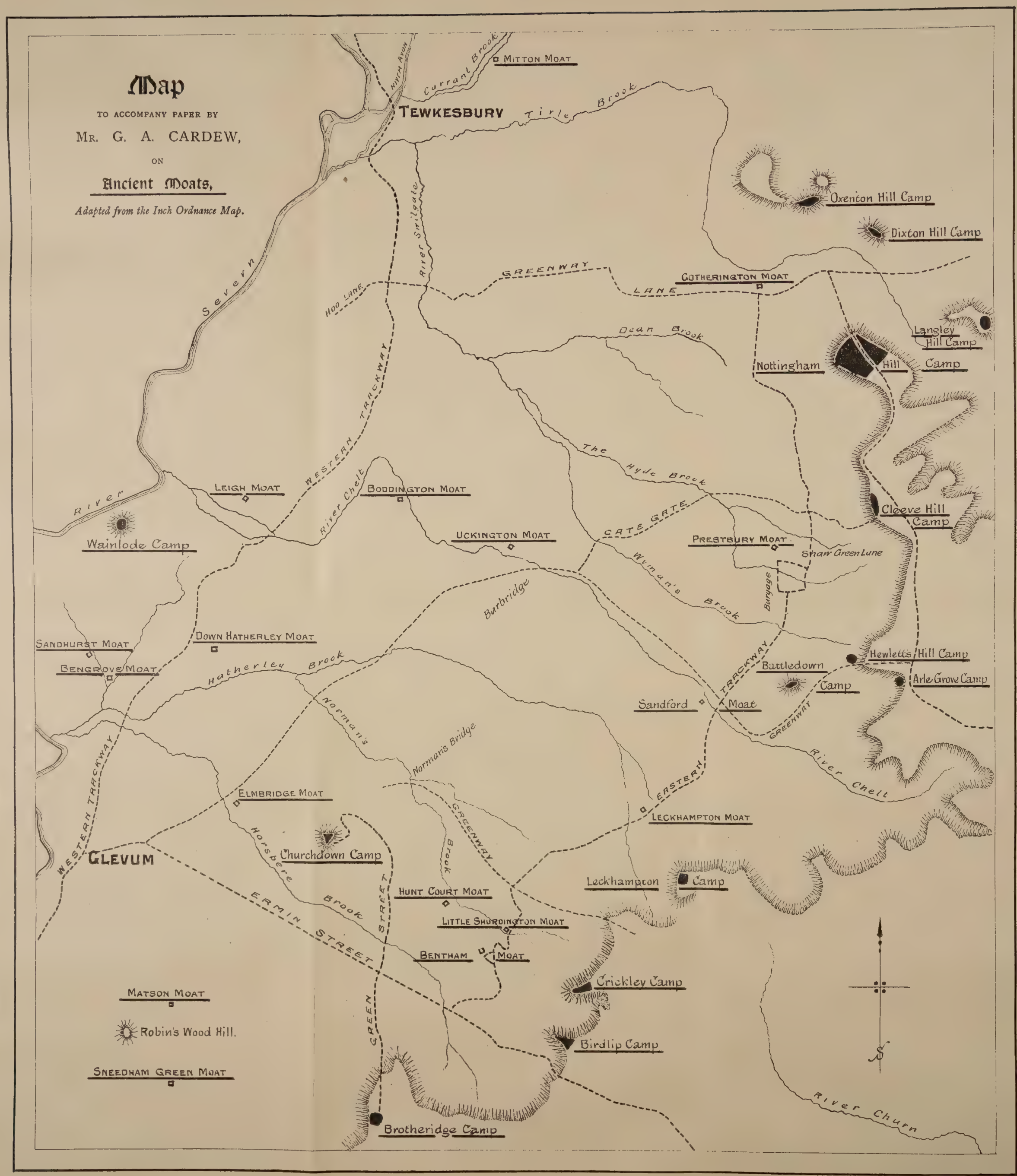
feet in height. This mound, 'motte,' or 'burrh,' the 'mota' of our records, was formed from the contents of a broad and deep circumscribing ditch."

By this we see that Mr. Melland Hall accepts Clarke's statement, that moats are the remains of Saxon strongholds. It is a very interesting question as to whether they are so in every case, and to what age they really belong. I believe that many of them are older, and are probably Romano-British in origin. I have heard that Mr. Bellows believes that every Roman signal station on the hills had an outpost in the vale, and I have pointed out to you already the juxtaposition of the vale moats to the hill camps, and their connections by road. So that it is possible that these moats played a part in the Roman story of our country, and were afterwards found useful by the invading Saxon.

Probably a good deal more evidence as to their age could be obtained by a careful cleaning out to a great depth and examination of the contents of these ditches. In the *English Illustrated Magazine*, 1888-9, page 372, in an article on "Moated Houses," by W. W. Fenn. Speaking of Stokesay Castle, in Shropshire, he says: "The average width of the moat is 20 feet, with a depth of 6 feet, probably at one time more. Cleared out some years ago, a few interesting curiosities were discovered, in the shape of coins, tokens, china, &c., and a somewhat mysterious stone implement, or, as some supposed, a Saxon dial, pierced with a central hole for a gnomon, and six holes in circumference, the latter indicating, it is assumed, the divisions of time according to the Saxon reckoning. These articles are carefully preserved in the buildings."

A great deal might be gained by clearing out these moats to a depth of eight or nine feet, or even more, and I hope an opportunity may arise when I shall be able to get at least one so examined.

In conclusion, I would ask any that are interested in history to do each one his little share if the opportunity arises of recording ancient monuments and describing their


Map
TO ACCOMPANY PAPER BY
MR. G. A. CARDEW,
ON
Ancient Moats,
Adapted from the Inch Ordnance Map.
MITTON MOAT
River Avon
Carrant Brook
TEWKESBURY
Tirle Brook
Oxenton Hill Camp
Dixton Hill Camp
River Swilgate
GREENWAY
LANE
COTHERINGTON MOAT
Hoo Lane
Severn
Dean Brook
Langley Hill Camp
Nottingham Hill Camp
WESTERN TRACKWAY
The Hyde Brook
LEIGH MOAT
BODDINGTON MOAT
River Chelt
River
Cleeve Hill Camp
Wainlode Camp
UCKINGTON MOAT
CATE GATE
PRESTBURY MOAT
Shaw Green Lane
Wyman's Brook
Burgage
Burbridge
SANDHURST MOAT
DOWN HATHERLEY MOAT
BENGROVE MOAT
Hatherley Brook
Hewletts Hill Camp
Battledown Camp
Arle Grove Camp
TRACKWAY
Sandford Moat
GREENWAY
Normans Bridge
Normans
River Chelt
EASTERN
ELMBRIDGE MOAT
LECKHAMPTON MOAT
GLEVUM
Churchdown Camp
Horsbere Brook
GREENWAY
Brook
Leckhampton Camp
HUNT COURT MOAT
ERMIN STREET
LITTLE SHURDINGTON MOAT
BENTHAM MOAT
GREEN STREET
Crickley Camp
MATSON MOAT
Robin's Wood Hill.
Birdlip Camp
SNEEDHAM GREEN MOAT
Brotheridge Camp
River Churn
S

present condition; also gathering up and saving every scrap of tradition and folklore; that during excavations a watch be set for whatever is turned up by the spade. Nearly all the Romano-British history of these islands and the history of the periods immediately antecedent and subsequent to it are mostly buried under the soil at varying depths, and is from time to time unearthed by chance in the construction of modern buildings or works. With regard to these moats in particular, I find that very little has been written about them; it is apparently virgin soil for the archæologist, and a great deal is to be done by a more careful and extended examination of them throughout the country.

NOTES ON THE ROMAN BASILICA AT CIRENCESTER, LATELY DISCOVERED BY WILFRED J. CRIPPS, ESQ., C.B.

Those members of the Society who attended the Autumn Meeting at Cirencester in 1896 (see *Transactions*, vol. xx., p. 33) will no doubt remember the extremely interesting collection of Romano-British antiquities which were exhibited by Mr. Wilfred Cripps in the museum which he has built for the purpose of preserving the remains of the ancient city of Corinium. The plan of the streets and the arrangement of its buildings has been to a very great extent obliterated by the more modern town which has grown up within the ancient boundaries, and it has been hitherto only possible to conjecture where the forum and the centre of the Roman city was situated. At Silchester, on the other hand, where the site has never been inhabited since the destruction of the Romano-British city, excavation has been everywhere possible, and the plan and ichnography of a great part of the site has been clearly ascertained. At Corinium the theory which has hitherto been most generally adopted is that the centre of the town was near the church at the crossing of the Bath and Gloucester roads.

Mr. Cripps, on the contrary, has held that the more probable centre of Roman municipal life was where the road through the town from the east or London gate cut the same great thoroughfare from Gloucester at right angles. This would be at the point where the modern Tower Street leaves Lewis Lane.

It is certain that if any modern street coincides better than another with a main Roman way it is the thoroughfare carried through the town from east to west, from the east gate near the Beeches straight for the Roman Amphitheatre

outside the town on the west, and now known as Lewis Lane and Querns Lane. The main street which once connected the north gate near Powell's School in Gloucester Street with the south gate close to the railway bridge over the Watermoor

CIRENCESTER.

Road, does not exist in these days except as far as the parish church, which stands athwart the Roman thoroughfare. Up to this point it is represented by Dollar Street and Gosditch Street, but it then crossed the middle of the parish church,

as it now stands, and the Market Place, and went on southwards, where no modern way exists, except for the 150 yards of Tower Street, much further on. It then proceeded across Watermoor House grounds to the south gate. It did not even exactly correspond with Tower Street, but ran down its west side, partly on Tower Street itself and partly on the Nursery premises, which form one side of that street. All this has a great deal to do with the recent discoveries; for it was the fact that the two great crossing ways, as now suggested, would divide the area included within the city walls almost exactly into four quarters, which suggested to Mr. Wilfred Cripps that the forum and great municipal buildings were hidden in that neighbourhood.

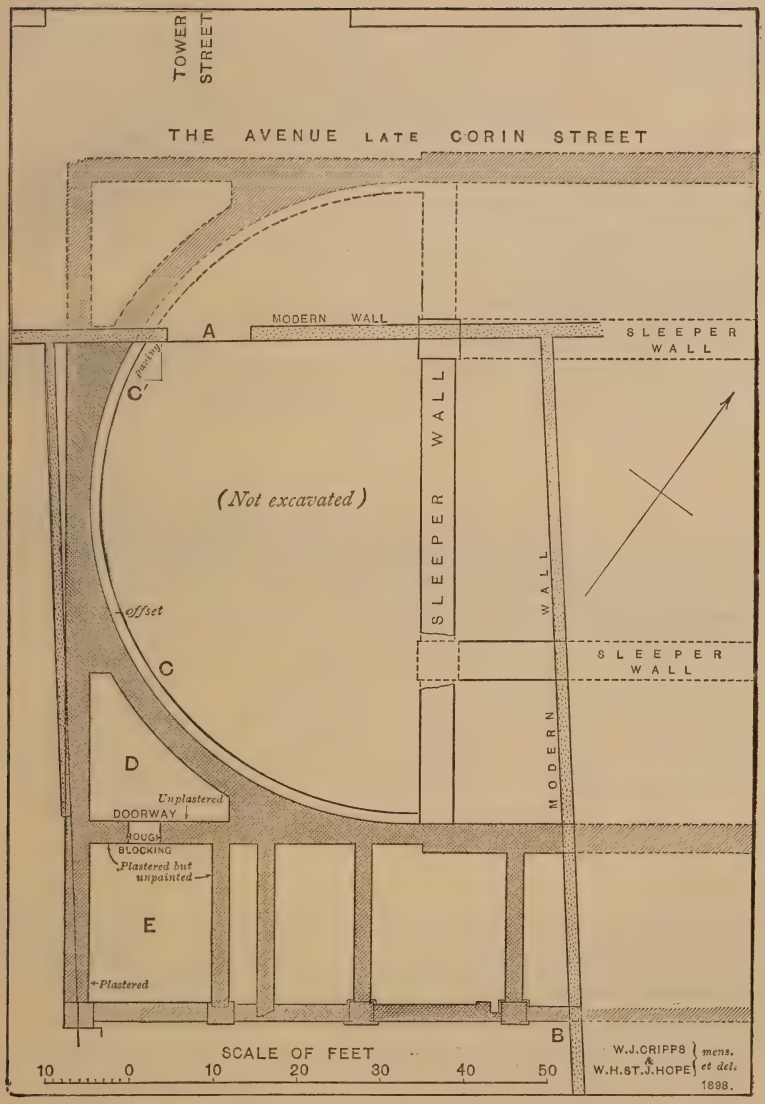
At Silchester the *Forum* and *Basilica* lie to the south-east of the intersection of the two great roads, and as some property similarly situated with regard to the point which Mr. Cripps conjectured to be the point of intersection in Corinium came into his hands, he determined to test his theory by excavation, strengthened by the hope that if any results were obtained they would probably be on an even larger scale than at Silchester, which was a smaller city than Corinium.

Excavations were accordingly begun in November, 1897, in the garden of Watermoor House, and the accuracy of Mr. Cripps's calculations was proved at once by the finding of the important wall, marked B on the plan, within a few hours of starting work. (See Plate I.)

First one huge stone, like the base of some great column, was found, set in the solid masonry of the wall; a little further on, another, and then a third and a fourth followed, to give an increasing assurance that buildings of consequence had been discovered. These stones are about 3 feet long by 2 ft. 3 ins. or more wide, and are about a yard or more deep, and each stands upon a lower stone some six inches larger in plan and about a foot thick, the two together forming the base apparently of a column imbedded in the wall. Both upper and lower stones are in their places in

PLATE I.

THE BASILICA, CIRENCESTER.
THE SOUTH WALL, LOOKING TOWARDS THE EAST
(TOWARDS B ON PLAN, page 73.)



REMAINS OF THE APSE OF THE ROMANO-BRITISH BASILICA AT CIRENCESTER.

the case of the two columns first found, but the upper stone has been removed in the case of the other two columns further west, the larger lower stones alone remaining *in situ*. A curious piece of projecting masonry is built round the most westerly stone, which is the corner of the building, which may possibly have been a guard or curbstone. It was observed, too, that whilst no walls ran south from this great wall, at every pillar a cross wall originated, pointing for Tower Street. The most easterly of these was followed up till at some 18 or 19 feet a second and more massive wall ran parallel with the first, but without columns in it. The spaces between consisted of chambers not very large; and of these the most westerly one, which proved to form the corner of the whole building, showed the remains of coloured plaster on its walls. From this second wall springs a great curving wall, C C′, which was found to form a portion of a true circle, and was followed till it left the garden and ran under the Victoria Avenue near the gate A, where it was impossible to follow it farther; but when the sewer was constructed in Corin Street a massive wall was encountered, which had to be removed by blasting, and there is little reason to doubt that this was the north wall of the basilica. At its centre the curved wall bedded itself into a straight wall which formed the end wall of the building, and the junction of these two structures leaves two sort of triangular areas, one next to the chamber E, and the other (not explored) under the footway of the public street. The portions of the building not actually dug out are indicated by dotted lines on the plan. A doorway, roughly walled up with large stones, opened from the chamber E into this small area or courtyard D, in one corner of which was found a heap of Roman oyster shells, the bones of a small dog, and a lot of fragments of coarse earthenware, red, grey and black; in fact, it was a sort of rubbish corner for refuse. On measurement it was found that when completed the curve of the wall formed a semi-circular apse of about 78 feet in diameter. This would give a radius of 39 English feet, which is almost exactly

PLATE II.

PART OF THE APSE OF THE BASILICA, CIRENCESTER, SHOWING FOOTING OR OFFSET.

equivalent to 40 Roman feet. The curved wall, as shown in Plate II., rested on a kind of double footing or offset, and on the north side of the curve some slight remains of stone paving were found, no others being discovered anywhere in the building. One large stone, 5 ft. 8 ins. by 2 ft. 6 ins. by 13 ins., was found close to the south-west part of the apse, which may have been the lintel of a doorway.

The next step was to follow up the wall, which was found to run from the south side of the apse towards Corin Street, forming the diameter of this semi-circular structure. It was one of the excessively wide walls which are called "sleeper walls," usually erected not to be carried up as partition walls, but to support columns. Something in the way of columns would obviously be required to support a roof of 78 feet span and great weight, for it was tiled with massive stone tiles of the micaceous sandstone, known as Pennant-grit. Ordinary Roman buildings at Cirencester were roofed with native stone, but for so grand a building as this they went to Yate and Iron Acton for a material that would be of superior quality. Well, to support this roof, and if this really were a *Basilica*, it might be expected that these supports would take the form of two arcades of columns dividing the structure into a nave and aisles. The sleeper wall was accordingly followed up from the south end of the semi-circle just where it finishes into a straight continuation wall running east, and at 17 ft. 3 ins. it was found to disappear and at the same time to throw off to the east an equally strong "sleeper wall." Here was the site of one of the great columns, the base stone of which had been removed, a circumstance which accounted for the disappearance of the wall. After a gap of about five feet it re-appeared, and ran on again northward, the removed base accounting for the interval.

Here was an opportunity for a little speculation. If a south aisle of 17 ft. 3 ins. wide had really been discovered, and if the cross wall running east gave us a width of 4 ft. 6 ins. wide between that aisle and a nave, it would be possible to

set off equal spaces towards the north and to ascertain by a not very difficult piece of arithmetic the width left for a nave. This would of course be 34 ft. 6 ins., on the estimate that the whole building was 78 ft. wide, and that it contained two aisles each of 17 ft. 3 ins., and making allowance for the two sleeper walls, each of 4 ft. 6 ins. wide, which carried the columns and arches separating the aisles from the nave.

It was felt that the credit of the whole exploration depended upon the base of the north column being found in the position expected, or if not, at least the gap occasioned by its removal; and as good luck would have it, at exactly the estimated distance of 34 ft. 6 ins. an immense stone 4 ft. 10 ins. square and 18 ins. thick, weighing by estimate between 2½ and 3 tons, presented itself, resting on the sleeper wall as level as the day it had been placed there by the Roman architect. (See Plate III.) A second sleeper wall, parallel with that for the south arcade, also started eastward at this great stone, and the problem of the whole building was determined. The Cirencester *Basilica* had, in fact, been discovered, and consisted of a building standing lengthways from east to west, its west end of an apsidal shape and 78 ft. in diameter, and continuing to the east in the form of a nave and aisles, the former 34 ft. 6 ins. and the latter 17 ft. 3 ins. wide, measures according well with the symmetrical rules of Roman architectural work.

This central block was flanked on the south side, and very probably on the north side also, throughout its whole length from east to west by a series of chambers about 18 feet each in length, but of no great breadth.

It now only remained to endeavour to trace out the eastern portion of the *Basilica*. The sleeper walls running eastward were uncovered as far as the limits of the garden allowed, but no other foundations of columns were found. It would appear then that the interval between each pair of columns must have exceeded 13 feet,—a large, but by no means impossible span when the size of the building is considered. The north wall being hidden under Corin Street, and the two sleeper walls mentioned above running under the foundations

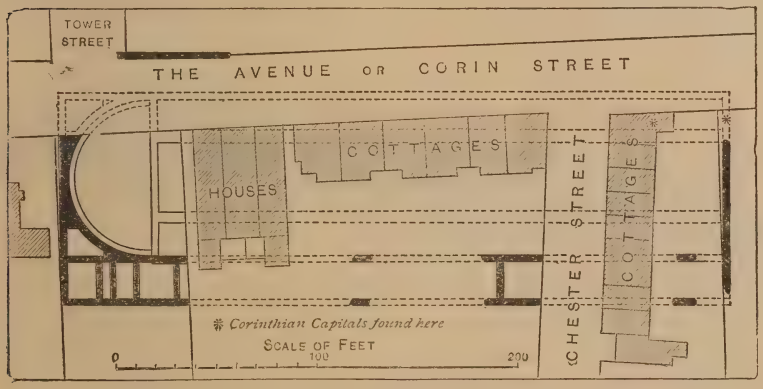
PLATE III.

THE BASILICA, CIRENCESTER.
THE SLEEPER WALL, LOOKING NORTHWARDS TOWARDS CORIN STREET.

PLATE IV.

CORINTHIAN CAPITALS FOUND ON THE SITE OF THE BASILICA, CIRENCESTER.

of houses and cottages, the only resource left was to search under the gardens of these houses for the continuation of the two main southern walls. Permission was in all cases most readily granted, and the walls were found in the gardens of Mr. Duffin, Mr. Hicks, and Mr. Smith, of Chester Place. There was every sign of their crossing Chester Street, and that they terminate in a north and south wall underlying the western end of the three new houses erected by Mr. G. Crook is almost certain. This would give a length equal to about four times the breadth of the nave and aisles, a very likely Roman proportion, and the fact that two great portions of Corinthian capitals were found just here points to the



PLAN OF ROMANO-BRITISH BASILICA AT CIRENCESTER.[1]

probability of the building having been finished with an eastern portico supported on Corinthian columns. One of these capitals was found exactly on the west wall of Mr. Crook's property, and the other was discovered at the corner of Chester Street many years ago, and has lately been presented to Mr. Cripps by its owner, Mr. P. Trouncer, of Chester House. They are figured in Plate IV.

It seems probable that the walls of this *Basilica* had been violently battered down from the outside, and had not

[1] For the use of these two plans of the *Basilica* the Editor is indebted to the Council of the Society of Antiquaries.

perished gradually. The whole centre of the apsidal space was filled some three or four feet deep with a chaotic mass of fallen masonry. Great wall stones lay heaped upon each other, chiefly edgeways, and intermingled with masses of mortar, and this could hardly have been the case if Time had with its gentler hand brought about the ruin of the building by slow decay. Besides these stones and many broken roofing-tiles, the only architectural fragments that were found were part of a slightly tapering oolite column with a maximum diameter of two feet (found near the walled-up doorway), two pieces of the base moulding of a column of some similar diameter, some small portions of mouldings of Purbeck marble, and of a thin strip of Italian marble (*cipolino*) such as would form wall lining. And last, but not least interesting of all, was the finding in the apse of a human eye and eyelid in bronze, a broken portion of the head of some bronze statue of almost more than life size, which indicates that such a statue graced the Cirencester *Basilica*. Great search was made for other fragments of the statue, but unfortunately in vain, and we are left to guess whether it was a figure of Justice or some local tutelary deity of the place. A goddess's face in fine red pottery was also found, and a few coins of no interest or importance.

The position of the *Basilica* being thus clearly determined, it seems now fairly certain that the centre of the Romano-British city was where Mr. Cripps guessed it to be, and in this case the *Forum* would lie to the north-west of the *Basilica*, and would fill the space between Corin Street and Lewis Lane. It is greatly to be hoped that some fresh discovery may absolutely settle this interesting point.

The only open land forming part of the site of the suggested *Forum* is the garden attached to Chester House; and it may perhaps be hoped that its owner will some day undertake an investigation which will be of great interest and importance, *not* only to Cirencester and the County Archaeological Society, but to the archaeological world.

LAMBETH AND ITS ANNALS.

By S. W. KERSHAW, M.A., F.S.A.

This Palace, which has been the home of the Archbishops for nearly seven centuries, still retains much of the antiquity which has made it famous to every historical student.

As he enters under the Gateway Tower, he sees the work of Cardinal Morton, the famous Bishop-builder in 1440. Proceeding through the Great Hall, rebuilt by Archbishop Juxon, thence to the Guard Room of the early fifteenth century and the Chapel of the thirteenth, he is arrested at every step by some landmark in ecclesiastical and civil history.

The first exact reference to the manor of Lambeth appears when Archbishop Hubert Walter in 1197 exchanged the manor of Darenth near Rochester for Lambeth, and the charter for this exchange exists in part among the Lambeth Archives and those of the Dean and Chapter of Rochester. These documents were once exhibited together at the Society of Antiquaries, and their contents ably explained by Mr. St John Hope, M.A., F.S.A. The exchange above referred to was effected by Hubert Walter (Archbishop) and Gilbert de Glanville, Bishop of Rochester, who was also Rector of Lambeth. At that time many advantages offered themselves to the owner of this ancient Palace—the Thames was at hand, whence fish could easily be obtained, and the low-lying lands near, afterwards known as "Lambeth Marsh," and shown in old prints, supplied game and wild fowl. So late as Queen Elizabeth's reign we read that the famous Dr. Andrew Perne, Dean of Ely (who lived at Stockwell), had a license granted him for taking game in this district. Dr. Perne was master of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, and

Vice-Chancellor of that University. Kennington, near at hand, was a Royal domain and palace, and nearer still was "La Place," or Rochester Place, used by the Bishops of Rochester, till the attainder of Bishop Fisher in 1535, when it was appropriated by Henry VIII. to the See of Carlisle, and then called "*Carlisle House*."

This very brief summary will show the *raison d'être* for the fixture of the Primate's home at Lambeth, and how in after years, as we shall see, it developed into the Palace, around which so many memories of old have clustered and have shed their lustre far and wide on the pages of English history. It may be stated in passing, the name "Palace" was not given to Lambeth till the last century, "Lambeth house," or from "my house" or Manor of Lambeth, constantly appearing in all old documents.

THE GATE OR ENTRANCE TOWER

Was erected about 1440 by Archbishop Morton, who had been Bishop of Ely, and had for his town residence Ely house in Holborn, of which nought but the beautiful Gothic Chapel remains. His architectural enterprises were far and near. In order the better to superintend embanking the fen waters between Ely and Peterborough, he built a brick tower on

LAMBETH PALACE. ENTRANCE GATEWAY.

the site of the ruined Wisbeach Castle. He also erected some of the old parts of Hatfield house, the roof of Bere-Regis church in Dorset, and a screen in Plymtree church, Devon, is also ascribed to this Prelate's agency.

He found Lambeth, after the destructive wars of the Roses, in a ruinous state, and built the Great entrance Gateway, which has been compared to that of St. John's College, Cambridge, to Layer Marney in Essex, and Oxburgh Hall in Norfolk, though the two latter have more decorative details.

At all events, there is a semblance in the Lambeth entrance of the union of defensive and domestic work, for the two lofty towers may well claim to be both a guard and a graceful example of the Early Tudor period.

JUXON'S HALL (NOW THE LIBRARY).

This apartment is one of Lambeth's finest rooms, being nearly 150 feet long and 38 feet broad. Erected by Dr. Juxon in 1662, on the site of the old Hall, which was nearly all destroyed in the Commonwealth time, it has served for some sixty years as the noble Library of the Archbishops, a collection world-famed for its archives and rare books. The first Hall, under the name of "Magna Aula," existed in the fourteenth century, as shewn by prints and documents in the Lambeth papers. Forming an importan adjunct to all such mediæval buildings, this Hall has played its part in the annals of the Church, as well as having been used for State and daily banquets. Here Councils and Convocation have met, while perhaps the most eventful scene of all was the Commission held here in 1534, with Archbishop Cranmer as President, to transfer the supremacy from the Pope to the King, and assigning the Royal succession to the heirs of Anne Boleyn. Sir Thomas More, and John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, were then present, and from their refusal to take the oath of supremacy, probably passed thence to their river barge, and so to the gloomy fortress of the Tower. Archbishops Parker and Whitgift kept up a great retinue, and

daily entertainments took place in this Hall, the Primate and his own circle sitting at the high table, around him were noblemen, and at other tables, his chaplains and clergy; while the lower end of the Hall was filled with strangers. Whoever came in, not above the degree of a Knight, might be entertained, either at the steward's or almoner's table;—there was a "Monitor" of the Hall, and if anyone spoke too loud, it was hushed by one, who cried "Silence!" Queen Elizabeth, a guest of Archbishop Parker, was entertained here, and the pages of Dean Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops* recall this memorable event. When the rebellion of 1644 came, the Palace and Hall passed into the hands of the Commonwealth, the stately fabric was destroyed, and its materials sold by auction. On Archbishop Juxon's entrance to the See, he found the Palace "a heap of ruins," and during his short Episcopate laid out nearly £15,000 in repairs: his fame will for ever rest as rebuilding this Hall, which he did, *not* after the architectural style then prevailing, but from the model of the earlier hall of Chichele's days. The design has been attributed to Wren, or his school;—the roof, of the hammer-beam type, somewhat resembles that of Westminster Hall or Eltham Palace; the pendants and carvings form a rich ornament, with the arms of Juxon and those of the See of Canterbury alternately arranged. In the centre is the lantern, with a vane on which are Juxon's arms, dated 1663, a date which also occurs on the leaden gutters of the outside cornice. John Evelyn, the diarist, came to Lambeth in 1665 . . . on a visit to Archbishop Sheldon, and saw what he called the "new old Hall," lately begun and finished. The Hall, then panelled some height, had a floor of black and white marble, and its vast area must have been imposing and grand. From Juxon's days to those of Archbishop Howley (1828-48), nearly 200 years, it was comparatively disused. Mention is made, however, of some of the soldiers and their families, in the time of the Gordon Riots in 1780, being maintained here, on the quartering of troops in the Palace, to defend it against the mob who were on

the point of attacking Lambeth Palace. A link with the open hospitality of past days was what was called "Tuesdays" at Lambeth, when anyone who had been presented at Court, and put their names down before 11 a.m., could dine with the company in the Great Hall.

In Archbishop Howley's time this privilege so greatly increased that it had to be abandoned. A curious custom is still retained in the ancient "Dole," which used to be distributed in food to the poor inhabitants in Lambeth, but is now converted into a weekly money payment.

In Archbishop Herring's time the dole was given out at his Palace at Croydon, to thirty poor persons, three times a week, each receiving 2 lb. weight of beef, a pitcher of broth, half quartern loaf, and twopence in money.

In the bay window at the lower end of the Hall are several interesting specimens of old glass, chiefly, armorial bearings of the Primates from Archbishops Parker to Howley. Most of the examples were once in the destroyed parts of Lambeth; viz., the "Steward's Parlour," the "Great Gallery," and the "Presence Chamber." Opposite to this window, a doorway of early Renaissance design leads to the Picture Gallery; the doorway has the shield of Juxon, with the date 1663, and I am inclined to think this charming example must have been removed from one of the many river Palaces, which lined the Thames in seventeenth century London, and are described in all topographical works, and nowhere more graphically than by the author of *John Inglesant*, who speaks of "the wonderful view up and down the river—the palaces and gardens and churches and steeples on the banks."

THE DESTROYED CLOISTERS.

We must now consider the Library, once placed in the Cloisters, removed in 1830, which formed an important feature in old Lambeth. The Cloisters were quadrangular in form, lying between the Chapel, the Hall, and the "Guard" Room.

The Galleries over the cloisters were used for the books and MSS., and Lysons, the historian, suggests that they were converted from Cardinal Pole's original structure to suit the purposes of a Library.

Queen Elizabeth, in one of her visits to Archbishop Parker in 1573, heard a sermon from Dr. Pearce. "The Queen, with her nobles and courtiers, listened in these galleries, while the people filled the quadrangle below." It is to be regretted these historical structures were all destroyed on the rebuilding of the Palace in 1830, and though, perhaps, architecturally meagre, many famous incidents happened in these time-honoured walls. It is too much the fashion to sacrifice everything not in harmony with some other part of a building, forgetful that art of the past tells its own historical tale, deeper far than the crude novelties of to-day. A somewhat similar case occurred in Lincoln Cathedral, when, after much protest, the old Library and Cloisters (the work of Wren) were saved from destruction. In 1829, on the removal of the Lambeth cloisters, the books were transferred to Juxon's Hall, where they are safely housed.

The Libray owes its inception to Archbishop Bancroft, whose arms are over the mantel: he, by his will, left his books to his successors in the See of Canterbury for ever.

The collection has been successively increased by several Primates, especially Archbishop Abbot (who founded the old hospital at Guildford), Sancroft (1678), Drs. Tenison, Secker, Cornwallis (1761-83), Manners,-Sutton, Howley (1826-48), Tait (1868-82), and the late Archbishop Benson. It must not, however, be imagined that, even before Bancroft's date, Lambeth had not its treasured volumes, for Cranmer was a scholar of rare powers, and there are many books here which have his autographs or marginal notes. Cranmer's library was greatly dispersed after his death; the British Museum possesses the largest number, Lambeth eighteen volumes, while the University and College libraries of Oxford and Cambridge share the remainder. Archbishop Parker was a great benefactor of learning; few of his books and

MSS. are here, nearly all having been given to his own College of Corpus Christi at Cambridge, where they can only be seen in the presence of one or more Fellows of the College. Laud's books were divided between the Bodleian and St. John's College, Oxford; that Primate's care for the Lambeth collection is evident, however, by an extract from his "Diary":—

1642. Nov. 9. "Captain Brown and his company entered my house of Lambeth, to keep it for public service.

Therefore I petitioned the Lords the same day, for the safety of the Library, my own study, and of such goods as were in my house; all which was honorably granted me."

It will be remembered that Lambeth was in the hands of Parliament and that the Civil War had then begun. Another entry records:—

1642. Dec. 23. "It was ordered by the House of Commons, that Mr. Glyn, Mr. Whitlock, Mr. Hill, or any two of them, should take care for the securing of the *public library*, belonging to the See of Canterbury, the books, writings, evidences and goods in Lambeth House, and to take the keys into their custody and a reference to the Committee, to prepare an order for the regulating of Lambeth House for a prison after the manner of Winchester House[1] is regulated."

During the Civil War the books were taken to Cambridge for safety; at the Restoration they were replaced in their former home, the learned jurist Selden having pressed on that University its claim to them in accordance with Archbishop Bancroft's will, which stated (in case of alienation): "I give and bequeath them all to the public library of the University of Cambridge."

Happily, Archbishop Sheldon demanded their return, and now, secure in Juxon's Hall for the last two hundred years, the volumes have augmented to some 30,000, while the MSS. number 2,000 or more; added to which, within the last fifteen years several works have been bequeathed, especially by Archbishops Tait and Benson and the late Canon Selwyn of Ely, with some modern gifts from authors and publishers. To quote the remark of the famous John Evelyn, "the library

[1] The Bishop of Winchester's residence in Southwark.

at Lambeth ebbed and flowed, like the Thames running by it, with every Prelate." The MSS. are varied, and their contents comprise Early English chronicles, rare versions of the Scriptures in many languages, historical letters of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, genealogy and topography; while the choice "Caxtons" and other printed books of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are unique in their value and interest.

The freedom of access of late years to this great collection has placed it within the reach of every scholar and student, and it is open daily, 10—4, except the Easter, Christmas, and Autumn recesses. One or two points demand our attention; viz., the series known as the "Bacon Papers," a correspondence of great political interest between Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Albans, and his brother Anthony. Some of these have been printed in Stebbing's *Life of Bacon*, and are also mentioned in Dr. Birch's *Letters of Lord Bacon.*

The history of Ireland in the seventeenth century is also well represented in the *Carew Papers*, acquired by Sir George Carew while Lord Deputy of Ireland, and afford a mass of evidence on the social and political condition of that island. The Tenison MSS. collected by that Prelate, who was beforehand Vicar of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and for a time Archdeacon of London at St. Paul's, are most extensive in their relations with the leaders of ecclesiastical thought throughout France and Germany, thus affording a clear insight into the state of religion in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

THE ANCIENT "GUARD ROOM."

In early times it was needful to have some large apartment for the defence of houses like Lambeth, and the present noble room (though greatly changed from medieval times) has had a long history. Men-at-arms were enrolled in the Archbishop's service to protect his person and property, and so remained till the Tudor period, when this "Guard

Chamber" was changed into an "Armoury," and in Laud's time we read the following in his "Diary":

1642. Aug. 19. "Captain Royden and his company, by order of Parliament, came about 7 o'clock to my house at Lambeth to take away my arms. They staid there all night and searched every room, and where any key was not ready, brake open doors, and next morning carried my arms away to the Guildhall, and I was sufficiently abused all the way, by the people, as my arms passed. They gave out in London there were arms for 10,000 men, whereas there was not enough for 200. The arms I bought of my predecessor's executors, only, some I was forced to mend, the fashion of arms being changed. Archbishop Laud left to defend this large house but 6 swords, 6 carbines, 3 halberds, and two half-pikes."

Some of the armour was here in Archbishop Potter's time (1747), and what remains is hung on the Grand staircase. In the repairs of 1829 the room was greatly changed: the roof and some other parts are original; modern windows were introduced, and the old panelling which came up to the corbels, needlessly removed.

As converted into the "Portrait Gallery" of the See of Canterbury, it contains portraits of all the Archbishops, from Warham downwards, including among them such artists as Holbein, Vandyke, Kneller, Hogarth, Reynolds, and of modern times, Richmond, Sant, and Professor Herkomer.

The pictures formerly hung in the old "Gallery" of the Palace, and many a visit is recorded of some illustrious noble or ecclesiastic to the Primate of those days. Harrison Ainsworth, in his charming romance, *The Days of Philip and Mary*, mentions Cardinal Pole and his reception of Philip the second and the Queen in this historical apartment.

THE PORTRAITS

Formed a great feature in bygone Lambeth, many of the pictures dating from the time of Archbishop Cranmer or before, when they were distributed about rooms and galleries which have long ceased to exist. Each portrait has a history, either in its presentation by some famed artist, or by special gift or bequest. The earlier pictures are mostly on panel, and Archbishop Cornwallis was one of the greatest

donors to the series. It will be convenient to group them as far as possible in centuries.

15th and 16th Century.

ARCHBISHOP ARUNDEL. (1399—1414.) One of the Constables of Queenboro' Castle, Kent. Copy from the Penshurst collection. Artist unknown. Presented by Archbishop Cornwallis. This picture is the only reputed authority for the likeness.

HENRY CHICHELE. (1414–43.) Founder of All Souls', Oxford; patron of art and architecture. Artist unknown.

WILLIAM WARHAM. (1503–33.) By Holbein. A present from the artist to the Archbishop. A portrait of Erasmus, by Holbein, was also once at Lambeth, but has long since disappeared.

THOMAS CRANMER. This picture represents him with a long beard; the others here are smaller, and probably copies. More representative portraits are at Jesus College, Cambridge, and at the National Portrait Gallery.

CARDINAL POLE. Said to be a copy of the one by Piombo in the Barberini Palace at Rome, and presented here by Archbishop Moore.

MATTHEW PARKER. On panel by Richard Lyne, an artist employed by this Archbishop, who is represented with a book, casket, and hour-glass before him.

EDMUND GRINDAL. Said to be by De Vos.

JOHN WHITGIFT. Artist unknown. A fine portrait is in the hall of Whitgift School, Croydon, where the Archbishop founded, in 1596, "Whitgift's Hospital."

17th Century.

RICHARD BANCROFT. Artist unknown.

GEORGE ABBOT. Artist unknown. Founder of Abbot's Hospital, Guildford.

WILLIAM LAUD. By Vandyke (original). Other portraits are at Reading (his birthplace) in the Town Hall, St. John's College and Bodleian (Oxford), National Portrait Gallery (London), and one in Yorkshire.

WILLIAM JUXON. Artist unknown. Copy from Longleat (Marquis of Bath). Another portrait at St. John's College, Oxon. Associated with the manor of Little Compton in Gloucestershire.

GILBERT SHELDON. Founder of Sheldonian Theatre. (Copy.) Presented by Archbishop Cornwallis.

WILLIAM SANCROFT. Copy by B. Lens, from original in Emmanuel Coll., Cambridge.

18th Century.

JOHN TILLOTSON. By Kneller. Another portrait hangs in the corridor near chapel.

THOMAS TENISON. By Du Bois.

WILLIAM WAKE. Attributed to Isaac Wood. The last Archbishop who went to Parliament by water.

JOHN POTTER. Artist unknown.

THOMAS HERRING. By Hogarth.

MATTHEW HUTTON. By Hudson.

THOMAS SECKER. Sir Joshua Reynolds.

FREDERICK CORNWALLIS. By Dance. This Archbishop's gifts to the Portrait Gallery were extensive and valuable.

JOHN MOORE. By Romney, a native of Glo'ster.

19th Century.

CHARLES MANNERS-SUTTON. Sir Thomas Lawrence.

WM. HOWLEY. Sir Martin A. Shee.

JOHN BIRD SUMNER. By Eddis.

CHARLES T. LONGLEY. By Richmond.

ARCHIBALD C. TAIT. By Sant.

EDWD. WHITE BENSON, the first Bishop of Truro. Professor Herkomer.

Other portraits and pictures are scattered through the private apartments and corridors of the Palace. All have an interest and individuality as touching on the annals of Lambeth or Canterbury, the latter city being represented in several photographs of the tombs of Archbishops in that Cathedral. Some old views of London by Hollar and other prints also hang in these Galleries.

THE CHAPEL

Is a point of supreme interest in Lambeth annals,— a work of the thirteenth century almost contemporary with the nave of the Temple Church, and erected in or near the site of an earlier Chapel, as we read that "Anselm consecrated many Bishops at Lambeth."

The Crypt underneath was sometimes used for worship, and is a fine example of roof vaulting of groined stone. Many historical scenes have its walls witnessed,— perhaps the saddest of all, the judgment pronounced by Cranmer on Anne Boleyn's marriage as invalid, when on the 17th May, 1536, she was brought here from the Tower to appear before that Prelate and then conveyed again along the silent Thames to that fortress, which she only exchanged for death. The Chapel is entered by an elegant Early

English doorway, around which cluster Purbeck marble shafts; the arms of Archbishop Laud are placed over this doorway. To Cardinal Morton was ascribed the stained glass which once adorned its windows. When Laud came to the See, he found "all patched like a beggar's coat."

The removal of some of the glass and the introduction of new designs formed part of the accusations against him in his trial; the windows were afterwards destroyed in the Civil war, which we have seen fell heavily on other parts of the Palace. A restoration took place in 1878, adopting a scheme from Old and New Testament story, after the designs of Morton's time. The windows are now filled with modern glass, the walls and roof adorned with fresco, both executed by Messrs. Clayton and Bell. It may here be mentioned, some of the windows were placed as a memorial to Archbishop Tait, at whose instance this work was begun, and to the American Bishops who attended the second Lambeth Conference of 1878.

A seventeenth century oak screen divides from the Ante-Chapel, an interesting work, though in years past, paint and varnish have actually been placed over the woodwork, which needs no such misplaced embellishment. In the ante-Chapel is a gallery of the Georgian period, once used for the household, and in the western wall above this gallery a niche, formerly serving as a hagioscope for the inmates of the Water Tower, but long ago filled up and replaced by a small bay window, over which are the arms of Juxon, with a shield borne by an angel.

The roof of the Chapel, once flat, is substituted for the vaulting in plaster, on which are painted in spirit fresco the scheme of the Hierarchy, angels and saints, with their symbols, altogether forming a highly artistic work.

It will be interesting to the members of the Gloucestershire Society to know that the late Mr. Gambier Parry's skilled advice was sought on the designs. Mention of his name recalls the vast amount of zeal and study he bestowed on Church decoration, and his untold loss to the art and

antiquarian world, not only in his own county, but throughout all England.

Many historical events have occurred in this Chapel, especially Consecration of Bishops, from very early times; here Wicliffe appeared before Archbishop Sudbury regarding transubstantiation.

The memorable consecration of Dr. Matthew Parker took place here; that Prelate is buried near the middle of the Chapel,—a stone, with the inscription "Corpus Matthæi Archiepiscopi tandem hic quiescit," indicates the spot.

From Archbishop Parker downwards these services have been regularly held, nearly all the Bishops of the Southern See having received that rite in this Chapel. In later years, Westminster Abbey, St. Paul's, and Canterbury have taken the place of Lambeth, though consecrations of Colonial Bishops were not infrequent. Of Bishops of Bristol since 1589 twenty have been here consecrated and sixteen of Gloucester, till the union of the See in 1856. The names are here given:—

BRISTOL (20).

1589.	Richard Fletcher.	1756.	John Hume.
1623.	Robert Wright.	1782.	Lewis Bagot.
1637.	Robert Skinner.	1783.	Christopher Wilson.
1679.	Willm. Gulston.	1792.	Spencer Madan.
1685.	Jonathan Trelawney.	1803.	George Pelham.
1710.	John Robinson.	1807.	John Luxmore.
1714.	George Smallridge.	1820.	John Kaye.
1719.	Hugh Boulter.	1834.	Joseph Allen.
1724.	Wm. Bradshaw.		*The Sees united.*
1735.	Thos. Secker.	1856.	C. Baring (Glo'ster and Bristol).
1737.	Thos. Gooch.		
1750.	John Conybeare.		

GLOUCESTER (16).

1598.	Godfrey Goldsburgh.	1735.	Martin Benson.
1605.	Thomas Rabis.	1760.	Wm. Warburton.
1607.	Henry Parry.	1781.	Saml. Halifax.
1611.	Giles Thompson.	1789.	Richard Bleadon.
1625.	Godfrey Goodman.	1802.	G. Huntingford.
1672.	John Prichett.	1815.	Henry Ryder.
1715.	Richard Willis.	1824.	Christopher Bethell.
1721.	Joseph Wilcocks.	1830.	J. Henry Monk.

THE WATER TOWER AND LOLLARDS' PRISON.

This picturesque pile, of red brick and stone, is one of the famous parts of Lambeth, and assigns the building of this group to the early part of the fifteenth century, probably by Archbishop Chicheley.

Between this Tower and the river stood what was then known as the "Bishop's Walk," with its tree-lined avenue, now usurped by the modern Embankment, and a landing-place from the river to the Palace steps, naturally gave to this pile the name of the "Water Tower." On the outside wall, facing the road, is a niche, in which formerly stood the image of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and tradition says that passing boats, long ago, lowered their sails in honour of that Saint.

LAMBETH PALACE
LOLLARDS' TOWER.

Access to the tower is partly reached from the "Post Room," so called from the pillar which supports the ceiling of one of the apartments in this Tower.

A newel staircase leads to the so-called Lollards' Tower; the real Lollards' Tower having been at the West end of old St. Paul's, a fact confirmed by Stow and other antiquarian writers. That at Lambeth, however, is sufficiently known in history, as having been the place of many victims, both for religious and political purposes.

Certainly some of the Lollards were at one time confined here, and the earlier Archbishops of the fifteenth century were not without imputation in the persecution of "so-called" heretics.

In later years the prison doubtless served as a place for

offenders—the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Southampton, and, in the Civil Wars, many a long list of unhappy victims, several of the dispossessed clergy from the West of England, and Royalist prisoners. From the roof of the Tower, terminating in a gable turret, a fine view of London and the Parliament Houses is obtained.

The story of Lambeth, far and reaching, will ever be

LAMBETH PALACE.
PRISON IN LOLLARDS' TOWER.

treasured by the historian and antiquary, recalling Archbishop Herring's words on Croydon Palace, which can be well applied to his Lambeth home: "I love this old house, and am very desirous of amusing myself with the history of its buildings."

RICHARD WHITTINGTON, A GLOUCESTERSHIRE MAN.

By H. S. KENNEDY-SKIPTON.

The Whittington or De Whittington family owned Pauntley, Gloucestershire, from 1265—1546. They probably took their name originally from Whittington, near Andoversford, five miles from Cheltenham. There were four other families of this name in four other counties, but their arms are different from those at Pauntley, which were: *Gules, a fess checky or and azure* with *a lion's head erased sable langued gules* for crest.

This we can see (with a good glass) on the chapel in Gloucester Cathedral, restored by Richard Whittington. The great merchant adopted *a bee semè* as his crest, as we learn from a Visitation of London in the Harleian MSS.

Whittington must be distinguished from Withington, some three miles south, also a good meet of the Cotswold hounds. There are six other Whittingtons in England. The Whittington family of Richard's branch had also an estate at Sollers Hope, Herefordshire, and his mother was a Mansel of that county.

We find Whittingtons Sheriffs of Gloucestershire at various dates from 1402—1740, and owning land in nine different parishes of the county. Collateral descendants of Richard still own property at Hamswell in Cold Ashton. The following Gloucestershire families have inter-married with them: Norwood (now Trye), Lingen, Berkeley, Hyett, etc.

The date of Whittington's birth was probably 1350, but is not certain, for he lived before the establishment of the compulsory registration of births in 1538, which was the only good thing Henry VIII. ever did.

The Pauntley estate was in Whittington's day worth £20

a year, a sum equal to about £350 now. In addition to their manor house at Pauntley they had a town house in Gloucester, which was sold in 1460, and pulled down about thirty years ago.

His father died in 1360, and his mother soon after married Sir Thomas Berkeley of Coberley Hall near the Seven Springs. She was his second wife, and he had a daughter, Alice, by his first wife. Alice married Sir T. Brydges, and from her the Lords Bray and Grey de Wilton (Wilton Castle, Ross) are descended. Of this Berkeley old seat only a wall and gateway remain; but the monument of the Knight and his wife, Whittington's mother, who survived her husband, can be seen in the church. Hence we may fairly claim Whittington as a Cotswold boy. He paid visits probably to the Cowlys then at Cowly, the Atwaters at Colesbourne, the Casseys at Compton Cassey, the Tracies, ancestors of Lord Sudeley, at Toddington, who brought bad luck on their family by their share in the murder of St. Thomas of Canterbury, the Norwoods at Leckhampton, the Chandos family of Sudeley, and the Earl of Stafford at Rendcomb, ancestor of that Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, who failed in his rebellion against Richard III. through the rising of the Severn in 1483, and of Mr. Stafford Howard of Thornbury Castle, who takes his motto from the Pump Room at Bath. He must have gone down Sandy Lane to Cheltenham. He no doubt followed the hares over those windy wolds then unenclosed by the stone walls, that sometimes obstruct the flyers of the hunt now. He had no fear of a claim for damages and an injunction, as he hunted north-west from Coberley towards Sullenwood.

In those days medicine, banking, and the Civil Service did not exist as professions, and if a young fellow did not care for the Church, and had not influence to get into the service of the Court, it was best for him to go into trade. To be apprenticed in London a boy had to be of decent birth, as the children of serfs were excluded.

No doubt Whittington went up to London at the age of

fourteen or fifteen, and was duly apprenticed to Sir Hugh Fitzwarren, a mercer of good family. The Fitzwarrens were Gloucestershire people, and came over with the Conqueror. We find them at Alveston and Rodmarton. Probably this is why Whittington joined Sir Hugh. Fulk Fitzwarren once, when playing chess with King John, was apparently clearing the board, when his Majesty checkmated him by taking up the board and breaking his head with it. But Fulk gave the royal head such a fearful blow in return, that he nearly killed him. (Atkyns.) Clearly this gambit was no gambol, and Fulk was not to be trifled with. Though the mercers have usually been dealers in soft goods, the word comes through the French *mercier*, from *mercator*, and means simply a merchant. As a guild they can be traced to 1172, but they did not take a first-rate position as merchants till the fifteenth century. Their wealth now is great, and this is partly due to the sixteen "messuages" in the City left them by Whittington, and now of immense value. They dealt in woollen goods up to the latter part of the 14th century, when they secured a monopoly of the silk trade.

As regards the "*Cat Story*," these explanations are given by Riley in his edition of *Liber Albus* of London, a precious record, which, in part, owes its existence to Whittington.

1.—"*Cat*" is a short form of *achats*, "traffic," from *achates*. We have *achate* in Chaucer's Prologue. *Caterer* and *cater* are also connected, and nowadays the caterer looms large in civic life.

2.—Cat was the name of a kind of ship that brought coal to London. Part of Plymouth Harbour called Catwater is said to take its name thence. Objections to this:—

(1) In a list of seventeen different kinds of ships hired by Henry V. as transports (v. *Rotula Normanniæ*, Henry V., 1517), and in Riley's list of nine others, cats are not mentioned.

Ketch has nothing to do with this word, but is derived from the Turkish *qaiq*, whence comes the French *caique*.

(2) The London coal trade was in its infancy in Whittington's day, and really dates from the 16th century.

(3) There is no evidence whatever that Whittington engaged in this trade, which was quite out of a mercer's line.

Argument in favour of the cat story:—

Whittington, when an apprentice, is said to have sent a favourite cat in a ship to the coast of Africa. There the cat was sold to a "chief" for a vast sum, as it proved useful in killing the rats, with which his house was infested. We have what is practically contemporary proof of the truth of this story.

I.—When the town house of the Whittingtons in Gloucester was pulled down in 1862, a stone-carved figure of a boy holding a cat was dug up.

This apparently formed part of a chimney-piece, and belongs to the 15th century. The Whittingtons sold this house in 1460.

This stone is now in the Guildhall Museum, London, and a picture of it will be given in Part II. of this volume.

It shows that Whittington's relations and contemporaries believed in the cat story.

II.—Pennant tells us that before the fire of 1666 a figure of a boy with a cat stood in a niche over the gate of Newgate prison, which Whittington's executors rebuilt.

III.—A silver-gilt waggon, running by clockwork on four wheels and weighing 201 ounces, was presented to the Mercers' Company by William Barde, Warden in 1572. This curious old piece of plate has two cats enamelled on it, and also rats and birds.

Lysons thinks this figure refers to the most distinguished member of the Mercers, and their great benefactor.

IV.—The 1536 portrait of Whittington represented him with a most business-looking tom cat at his side. Engravings of this are preserved, though the original is lost. The face is somewhat like the portrait of Whittington in the original

copy of his ordinances, of the date of his death, belonging to the Mercers' Company. Elstrack's portrait, published about 1590, is still more like him, and in the first impressions he was represented with his right hand on a skull. But as these did not sell well, he substituted a curious cat for the skull, and then the impressions went off.

I am therefore inclined to believe the cat story in preference to any others.

The south side of Cheape was the place for mercers' shops, as it was the custom in those days for shops of a particular kind to occupy streets of their own, as we still see in the Shambles at York, one of the oldest and least changed streets in England. The Mercers' Hall is still in Cheapside.

As an apprentice, Whittington was under a man of his own class—a gentleman entitled to bear arms, Sir H. Fitzwarren,—and not a parvenu or brand-new baronet of the modern mayor type. The life of the apprentices then was something like that of medical students in town now. He married his master's daughter in due course, but left no issue.

Whittington sold silks, satins, cloth of gold, velvet, embroideries of precious stones, and also woollen goods. We learn from the *Issue Rolls, Easter*, 3 *Henry IV.*, that Whittington was paid £215 13s. 4d. for ten cloths of gold and other merchandise for the King's eldest daughter, Blanch, just before her marriage to Louis, Duke of Bavaria, in 1403. This is as much as £4,000 now, and not bad for the trousseau of a blushing bride of eleven summers, especially as there was another little bill for "the apparel and paraphernalia of the said Blanch" to the amount of £380 from William Cromer, "citizen and clothier."

The *Issue Roll of Easter*, 7 *Henry IV.*, shows the payment of £248 10s. 6d. to Whittington for pearls and cloth of gold for the trousseau of the Princess Philippa, when she married Eric, King of Denmark, Norway and Sweden.

WHITTINGTON'S CHARITIES, &C.

He built and endowed the Collegiate Church of St. Michael, Paternoster Row, where he was buried.

> "Here in streaming London's central roar
> Let the sound of those he wrought for,
> And the feet of those he fought for,
> Echo round his bones for evermore."

This church was destroyed in the Great Fire, and no monstrosity by Wren, "decorated" by that pagan, Gibbons, has happily been built in its place.

It is interesting to note, as a sign of his sympathy with the unfortunate King, that the priests were ordered to pray for the soul of Richard II.

He also endowed a hospital for thirteen poor men in connection with this foundation. This is now maintained at Highgate by the Mercers' Company.

He built a bridge and chapel at Rochester.

The building of bridges in those ages, which should be called devout and not dark, was considered a religious duty, and no bridge was complete without its chapel. Few such chapels are left now, thanks to reformers, Puritans, and modern improvers; but that at Wakefield, Yorks, is worthy of notice.

He gave London two drinking fountains: one in the wall of St. Giles', Cripplegate, known as Whittington's Boss from the lion's head, from which the water flowed, and another on the bank of the town-ditch.

He left money to rebuild Newgate Prison, of which we are told in a contemporary record: "Yat hit was febel over litel, and so contagious of eyre, yat it caused the deth of many men."

He built the library of Grey Friars, Newgate Street, which is now part of Christ's Hospital, and gave £400 towards buying MSS. for it. The Protector Somerset, borrowed two cartloads of these, and forgot to return them. Soon after the executioner borrowed his head, and was equally oblivious.

He restored, and partly rebuilt the Guildhall, St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and Gloucester Cathedral, where his arms are to be found in Boteler's Chapel.

HIS LOANS TO THE CROWN.

In 1420 Whittington burnt £60,000 worth of the King's bonds. This splendid gift of about a million in modern money was made in conjunction with the Mercers' Company, the Corporation, and the Grocers' Company.

We see from the Exchequer records that Whittington lent sums of from £66 to £1,000 to Henry IV. and V., and these were, of course, repaid.

"Seest thou a man diligent in his business? He shall stand before kings" is true enough of him.

HIS CHARACTER AND CAREER.

He was Alderman and Sheriff in 1392, and had five apprentices. In 1397 he was appointed Lord Mayor in the place of Adam Baunne, deceased. He was also Lord Mayor in 1398, 1406, and 1419. In 1416 he was elected M.P. for London. In October, 1422, he attended at the Guildhall for the last time, and died in 1423.

Whittington had some great men as contemporaries, whom he may have known, *e.g.*, Wycliffe, Chaucer, Gower, William of Wykeham, and Froissart, who paid a visit to London at the end of Richard II.'s reign, about 1397. His religious foundations, and his purchase of the advowson of St. Peter's, Cornhill, which he gave to the Corporation, show that he was no Wycliffite, though one of his friends was. This man, R. Pecok, the first master of his hospital, got into sad trouble for Wycliffism, which was then regarded as a dangerous form of Socialism. When Bishop of Chichester, this Peacock got his wings clipped, and, in fact they were very near being burned, for he was convicted of heresy, and only escaped the stake by recantation. He was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment in a cell in Thorney Abbey. His character is absolutely stainless throughout. He lived in

the reigns of five kings, Edward III.—Henry VI. He saw the great Edward III., the hero of Cressy and Poitiers, outlive his energies and popularity, and die feeble and forlorn. He saw his son, the darling of the nation, the great champion of English chivalry, laid to rest before his time at Canterbury.

He saw the brilliant young Richard, the rash boy King, "who blazed the comet of a season," begin so brilliantly, when he faced the rebels under Tyler at Smithfield, exhaust his popularity by gross extravagance, alienate London, and die a wretched death without a friend at Pontefract.

He saw Henry of Lancaster enter London in triumph, riding on "Roan Barbary," as Shakespeare has described. He saw him grow prematurely old through the plots and perils that harassed him, so that he was forced to say:—

"Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown"

of that "polished perturbation, golden care."

He was the trusted friend of the King, and also of his brilliant son, aiding him with money and advice, so that it was natural for him to assign to the merchant the task of rebuilding the nave of Westminster Abbey. Whittington, no doubt, rode in the grand triumphal procession after Agincourt, a victory in which Gloucestershire had its full share, not only through the Berkeleys and other Knights of that county, but also through the lamprey pies, of which the King took a good supply for that campaign.

As a citizen and magistrate of London, he was ever the champion of the poor and the weak, and that at a time when the working man had no vote. He put one, Harold, in the pillory for selling as Malmsey "old and feeble Spanish wine," which was doctored with gum and spices. Probably it was like the "port wine" now made at Worcester from damsons.

He prosecuted the Brewers' Company, then as now a powerful body, for "forestalling meat and selling dear ale." "Boodle" was then not unknown in the City, and certain

disclosures of late show that it is not yet extinct. In 1391 the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs were deposed for taking bribes. Whittington, however, was not to be "squared." Foreigners had by bribes got apprenticed to members of City companies, and so got a footing as traders, in spite of the law; but Whittington set his face against this. "England for the English" was his motto at a time, when "Made in Germany" was happily unknown. He was a prison reformer centuries before Howard, as we see from his bequest for the rebuilding of Newgate, because the poor wretches confined there suffered so horribly.

As the friend of the poor, the adviser and generous benefactor of kings, the patron of learning, as a very king among the merchant princes of London, Whittington is a man of whom Gloucestershire and the great City—nay, even England—may well be proud.

LONDON CHURCHES OF THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES.

By G. H. BIRCH, Esq., F.S.A.

"Before the great and dreadful fire of 1666, here stood the Parish Church of ——." This inscription, which is to be found in one or two places within the boundaries of the City, at once arrests the attention of the thoughtful passer, and takes him back to those few awful days of September, a little more than two centuries ago, when that whirlwind of flame swept over nearly the whole area within the walls, and the largest and most magnificent cathedral in England, together with ninety-three parish churches and chapels, the Guildhall, the Royal Exchange, fifty of the City Companies' Halls, and thirteen thousand houses, went down before it, like so much stubble, leaving nothing but ruined and blackened fragments to tell of what the piety, the freedom, the accumulated wealth, and the private enterprise of past generations had established there. Truly, such an awful catastrophe, unequalled even by the conflagrations of modern American cities, might well be termed "the Great and Dreadful Fire of 1666," destroying, as it did, property to the value of ten millions of money, at that time. Far beyond this, the loss to the Art of this country was irreparable; yet it was instrumental in giving us handsome public buildings, well-lighted and airy churches, with wider streets, and houses built of less inflammable material; in exchange for the narrow tortuous thoroughfares, lined with wooden and plaster houses of several projecting storeys, and the small, low, dark, and half-buried churches of the preceding ages.

The ground had been well prepared; for a complete *tabula rasa* had been made of all that had hitherto adorned the City, and there was ample room for new ideas, new projects, and a complete emancipation from all the trammels which had hitherto fettered and bound men's minds by the associations and traditions of the past. But these new ideas, these magnificent projects, were never to be realised in their entirety; the old traditions proved too strong; they could not be lightly thrust on one side; and the New City arose from its ashes very much on the lines of the old, so far as the direction of the streets and lanes was concerned: the improvements effected being only with regard to the extra width of the streets, and the better material of the buildings.

The old historic names of the streets survived, and the great part of the old City churches were rebuilt exactly on the same sites, and, in most cases, utilising the old foundations. In almost every instance, where one of them has been removed, the process of demolition reveals this fact: St. Dionis Backchurch, St. Michael Queenhythe, St. Benet Gracechurch, St. Benet Fink, St. Olave Jewry, St. Mildred Poultry, St. Mary Magdalene Fish Street Hill, St. Antholin Budge Row, St. Mary Somerset, St. Matthew Friday Street (partly), St. Christopher-le-Stocks and St. Bartholomew Exchange, are all cases in point; while the various reparations which have taken place, from time to time, in the following churches, Christ Church Newgate, St. Mary-at-Hill, St. Stephen Walbrook, St. Magnus London Bridge, St. Stephen Coleman Street, St. Vedast Foster, St. Nicholas Cole Abbey, St. Martin Ludgate, etc., reveal the fact that the old walls have been made use of, and in many cases only faced with Portland stone. At St. Nicholas Cole Abbey, in removing the oak panelling in order to repair and strengthen it, the whole of the south wall was found to be ancient; and in making a converter station for the Electric Light Company, about two years ago, a large obtusely pointed arch was found, existing below the

present level, and too wide for a doorway. Unless it was the archway of a porch, with steps leading up to the church (for the difference of levels has always been very marked), it is difficult to say what could have been the use of it: the arch and jambs were plainly chamfered, and it had been walled with rough masses of chalk and stone rubble. The north and east walls of the same church were partly ancient, with fragments of mouldings, and broken Purbeck shafts built in; the presence of the latter indicating that the old church, consumed in the Fire, must have been early thirteenth century work. When the unfortunate demolition of St. Michael's Bassishaw, and All Hallows the Great Thames Street, is completed, the same conditions will probably be found in these cases. Some of the larger churches, as St. Dunstan's in the East, St. Mary Aldermary, St. Sepulchre Snow Hill, are known to follow exactly the old lines, as does also St. Alban's Wood Street. In Christchurch Newgate Street, erected on the site of the choir of the old Franciscan Friary Church, the old buttresses exist just below the ground, and still mark the modern divisions of the present church. These instances are adduced to show that the churches rebuilt after the Fire occupied the identical positions of the ancient structures, and that the plan of the rebuilt church was more or less influenced by these walls and foundations. How Wren effected this in most cases is shown hereafter, and it will be seen that, although fettered by the boundaries of the ancient churches, he departed in most cases from the ground plan and arrangement of them, and in his own particular style gave us buildings which in many cases we may well be proud of.

Prior to this date, most churches had followed one particular plan; a nave separated from its aisles by columns and arches, sometimes with only one aisle north or south. A structional chancel was rare in London churches, most of which had been rebuilt in the fifteenth century without a chancel arch, the aisles being usually prolonged to the

extreme east end, and their eastern parts screened off with oak parcloses, separating this part from both nave and chancel; the position of the chancel arch being occupied by the rood screen. In most of the London churches this screen had been removed, together with the rood, in consequence of religious troubles; they mostly possessed towers, placed either at the west end of the nave, or at the west end of either the north or south aisles. Most of these towers were low, with an octagonal turret at one corner, carried up above the embattled parapet and finished with a vane; but some of the larger churches had more stately towers, with fine high corner pinnacles, as at St. Sepulchre's, St. Michael Cornhill, St. Mary Aldermary, etc., while St. Mary-le-Bow possessed one which was unique, so far as London was concerned, for here the four corner pinnacles were connected by flying buttresses supporting a central pinnacle.[1] Spires were comparatively rare; St. Lawrence Pountney had a very fine one, and, according to John Stow, the Austin Friars church possessed one, of which he speaks with great admiration. The types of these ancient churches can still be seen in a few which fortunately escaped the flames. Of the larger of these, All Hallows Barking, St. Andrew Undershaft, and St. Mary Aldermary (rebuilt by Wren in the ancient form), St. Giles Cripplegate, St. Olave Hart Street, St. Ethelburga Bishopsgate, and St. Peter's in the Tower, show us exactly what they all were like; while others which also escaped, but have since been rebuilt; St. Peter-le-Poer, St. Botolph's Aldersgate, All Hallows Staining, All Hallows in the Wall, and St. Martin's Outwich, closely resembled them. St. Helen's Bishopsgate (happily also still standing) was only partly parochial; the church of the Benedictine Nunnery was attached to it, and formed a nave and choir parallel to the parish church, only separated from it by an arcade.

This multiplicity of churches (which numbered a hundred

[1] Sir Christopher Wren used a modification of this in his well-known spire of St. Dunstan's in the East.

and thirteen, besides the Cathedral) was essentially English, for in all our cities the parishes were very small in extent, which is observable at York, Bristol, Exeter, and Chichester, and, apart from the large conventual churches, the parish churches were necessarily small; such vast and roomy churches as one sees in many continental cities were conspicuous by their absence. Architecturally, this was a distinct loss; but very few foreign cities could show such superb structures as St. Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, the great priories of the Austin Canons, Christchurch, or Holy Trinity Aldgate, St. Bartholomew's Smithfield, St. Mary Overie, each as large as a cathedral, the great Friary Churches of the Dominicans, Franciscans, Austins, Carmelites, Hospitallers, Templars, Crutched Friars, Minoresses, St. Katherine's, and the Abbey of Grace (the last belonging to the Cistercian Order), all within the City walls, or not far from them.

Although some of these structures had disappeared, an idea can be formed of the ecclesiastical appearance of London in the reign of Charles I., when Inigo Jones was in full practice as an architect, and he would naturally have been called in to erect any new church in London, if, in consequence of delay, any one of the numerous old ones had become ruinous, and required rebuilding. Tradition points to two churches in the City of London as coming from his hand, one remaining, and the other having been rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren after the Great Fire, in the same form as Inigo Jones had rebuilt it in 1632. The first is St. Katherine Cree or Christchurch, and the second, St. Alban Wood Street. The traditional plan is followed in both these churches, but Classic details invest them, especially the first mentioned, with an architectural interest, indicating those coming changes, which, in the next half century, were to be so fully developed under Sir Christopher Wren. Little beyond tradition can be adduced to show that Inigo Jones was the architect of either of them; and it is indeed difficult to imagine how the man who designed a

façade of such Classic purity as the Banqueting House, Whitehall, or the church of St. Paul's Covent Garden, could possibly have been the author of this peculiar blending of Classic detail on Gothic forms, especially when he had publicly evinced his known contempt for the latter, by adding the Corinthian portico to the west front of Old St. Paul's, and disguising the Norman work of the nave (externally) under a Classic skin. Yet, on the other hand, it is a known fact, that he did design the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn, where the same mixture of the two styles is apparent, as it also is (or was) at the old church of St. Paul's Hammersmith, built for his friend Sir Nicholas Crispe. If he designed these he surely could also have designed the others; and it may be asked, who was there at that time (1625 to 1640) who could possibly have been their author but Inigo Jones?

Nor does this seem improbable, when one considers that William Laud, afterwards the martyred Archbishop of Canterbury, then filled the see of London, and administered the diocese with no uncertain hand; he had clearly foreseen the rising torrent of Puritanism, and attempted to stem that torrent by leading men back into the old paths, by setting before them their true inheritance in their own Church of England. He had revived many old customs and ceremonies, which the statecraft of Elizabeth and the weak apathy of James had allowed to fall into desuetude; and in this matter of architecture, although he may have had no wish to interfere with the fashionable taste for Classic details, he was determined that the buildings, so far as plan and arrangement were concerned, should follow the old models, and Inigo Jones worked accordingly; but when the latter could throw off the trammels of ecclesiastical tradition, he did so, as at Whitehall, and at the Queen's Chapel, Somerset House. Here he had to reckon with the King and not the Bishop, and he was free to follow his own bent. Again, at St. Paul's Covent Garden, it was a private patron, Francis, Earl of Bedford, who only

wanted a "barn," with whom he had to deal. Although commenced about 1632,[1] it was not consecrated until 1638, by Juxon, who had succeeded Laud in the see of London, a difficulty having arisen with the rector of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, out of which parish St. Paul's Covent Garden was taken. This church clearly departed from ancient tradition; it was a parallelogram 99 feet long, 48 wide, and 38 high; the roof was unsupported by columns, and from Hatton's description it had galleries on all the four sides, that on the eastern, he observes, "much obstructs the view of the new altar-piece." The roof was originally of red pantiles, and the portico at the east end was used as the polling place for the City and Liberty of Westminster. Hogarth's well-known print familiarises us with its then outward appearance, and there is an earlier view by Hollar. Horace Walpole's strictures were singularly correct; he could find nothing to admire in this church, although the sum spent upon it (£4,500) was a large one for those days. If, architecturally, it was a failure, it is interesting as being the first church on the new model, in which galleries were to form an important part. St. Paul's, Shadwell, built in 1656, by an architect unknown, was originally without galleries, but they were added in 1683. The design was Classic, and the camerated roof was supported by columns. It was taken down and rebuilt in 1817, from the design of John Walters. These churches were the recognised models of ecclesiastical art in the two or three decades preceding the Great Fire.

Immediately after the Restoration, in 1661, Charles II. proposed certain works to be commenced, the most important being the reparation of the Old Cathedral Church of St. Paul, for the repairs which had been commenced by Inigo Jones, had of course been completely stopped by the Puritans, and the Cathedral was in a worse state than ever threatening ruin in several places; and it is in connection

[1] Hatton, in his *New View of London*, says in or near 1646, and not made parochial until 12 Car. II., 1660.

with this fabric that we find Sir Christopher (or rather "Dr.") Wren's name first associated with architecture in London. At Oxford he had already a considerable reputation, and this fact influenced the King to appoint him Assistant Surveyor General to his Majesty's Works, a post then held, oddly enough, by Sir John Denham, the poet, to whom the reversion of the office had been promised in the lifetime of Inigo Jones. Denham, on the evidence of Evelyn, knew nothing about architecture, and, to quote the latter's diary with regard to the new palace at Greenwich: "I knew him to be a better poet than an architect, although he had Mr. Webb, Inigo Jones's man (his son-in-law), to assist him." It is not only possible, but highly probable, that Evelyn had mentioned Wren's name to the King. He was then only twenty-nine years of age, was the son of Dr. Christopher Wren, Dean of Windsor, and nephew to the famous Dr. Matthew Wren, Lord Bishop of Ely. It is a curious fact that his father the Dean seems to have possessed some knowledge of architecture, for among the Clarendon papers is an estimate for a house for the Queen Henrietta Maria, which Dr. Wren had designed, so that the son's taste and skill in this particular art was evidently inherited. But we have no evidence that he had studied the art as Inigo Jones had done, by going abroad and seeing Palladio's works; certainly not at this period of his career, for he did not travel abroad until 1665. "Poeta nascitur non fit" is an adage applicable to him as an architect, as it may be to others, for no amount of "examinations" can discover artistic skill where it is not inherent!

It is not necessary to go into the question of what Wren proposed with regard to the old Cathedral, for the Great Fire swept all before it, and rendered the various schemes useless. Immediately afterwards we find Wren hard at work on a scheme for rebuilding the City, on an entirely new plan, but the necessary interference with the rights of private property prevented this form being carried out, and the new City arose from the ashes of, and on the same lines as, the old.

In Longman's *History of the Three Cathedrals of St. Paul*, a full account is given of the various ideas held as to the rebuilding of it at this period, but not until nine years had elapsed was the first stone of the new Cathedral laid (June 21st, 1675). During these years Wren had not been idle; the rebuilding of the City had been going on at a rapid rate, and it is marvellous to observe that such awful calamities as the Plague, which swept away over one hundred thousand of its inhabitants, and then the Fire which followed so quickly upon it, proved insufficient to utterly demoralise the remaining citizens. But such was the case; no gloomy views as to London being a "doomed city" seem to have prevailed, and although the nation was actually at war at this period, the spirit and energy of the people were undaunted, and not even the "law's delay" and the necessary delicate and nice adjustment of boundaries, consequent upon the ancient lines of streets, and lanes, and properties, being buried beneath piles of rubbish, stopped the rapid progress of the rebuilding. It may or it may not be a matter of regret that Evelyn and Wren's plan for the rebuilding of the City on an entirely new plan, was abandoned, but it is certainly deplorable that the quay, forty feet wide, from London Bridge to the Temple, for which two Acts had been obtained, was never carried out; the loss to London has been incalculable, and it seems now that the realisation of this idea is more utterly hopeless than ever, owing to the increase of the value of property, and that this magnificent opportunity has been lost, must we say, for ever!

To have rebuilt, not only the Cathedral, but also some fifty or sixty parish churches, would have been absolutely impossible if private enterprise and private munificence had had to be depended upon entirely, to raise the necessary funds. Accordingly in 1670 we find an additional Act was passed to raise two shillings additional per chaldron on coals, one shilling having already been levied, and this was to be divided into certain moieties, of which the rebuilding

of the churches was to take three fourths, and that of St. Paul's Cathedral one fourth; and there can be very little doubt that the rebuilding of the City had proceeded so rapidly, that some such provision was necessary.

The first church to be rebuilt was St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside, and this was commenced in 1671,[1] but was not completely finished, with its tower and spire, until 1680. There was a special fitness in this precedence, for this church had always been, after the Cathedral, the most important ecclesiastical building in the City, and might justly be termed the "Citizens' church." It was from the curious tower, surmounted by a central and four corner lanterns and carried by flying buttresses, that the curfew was rung nightly, and so anxiously expected by the prentices, as commemorated in the well-known distich and reply:

> "Clarke of Bow Bell with the yellow locks,
> For thy late ringing thy head shall have knocks.
> Children of Chepe, hold you all still,
> For you shall have Bow Bell rung at your will."

With funds thus provided from the public exchequer, the work of rebuilding the City churches on the old sites proceeded rapidly; provision seems to have been made for divine worship in many of the parishes, if not in all, by the erection of "tabernacles," a sort of temporary building, which was licensed, not only for the services, but also for the celebration of marriages. In the archive chamber of St. Paul's Cathedral, there is a volume entitled *Schemes of Tabernacles*, quoted by Dr. Sparrow Simpson in his account of St. Matthew Friday Street.[2]

A good portion of the expense of the rebuilding was

[1] The repairs to St. Sepulchre Holborn, and St. Christopher Threadneedle Street, were commenced in 1670, but in neither case was rebuilding necessary.

[2] *Transactions, London and Middlesex Archæological Society*, vol. iii., p. 334, and in vol. iv., *idem*, p. 305, in the minutes of the vestry of St. Peter, Cornhill, 31st December, 1672: "Ordered that the churchwardens do present Dr. Wren with 5 guineas as a gratuitée for his paines and furtherance of a Tabernacle for this parish."

defrayed by private subscriptions (£2,375 being collected in this way), which is mentioned here only to draw attention to the fact that these churches were not entirely rebuilt from public moneys, but that the private munificence of church-people largely contributed to their erection. The next church taken in hand was St. Stephen's Walbrook, which, after the Cathedral, is very justly looked upon as Wren's masterpiece. The rebuilding of this church took place in 1672, and was followed in the same year by that of St. Michael Cornhill, and St. Mary-at-Hill. This group of four churches is therefore important in the history of Art, as it gives us representative types of plan and arrangement, and thoroughly exemplifies the fertility of Wren's genius. In St. Michael Cornhill we get the ordinary basilican plan, by which is meant a long parallelogram divided into a central nave and side-aisles, by columns and arches. In St. Mary-le-Bow we get a modification of this, by a wide central nave of three bays only, divided from rather narrow aisles by arches; and the vaulting over the aisles is concentric with the arches and groined over the transverse arch. St. Mary-at-Hill is nearly square in plan, with a central dome carried by four arches and pendentives; these four arches open into four compartments with plain barrel vaults, and the four corner spaces have flat ceilings at the level of the impost—a very simple but most effective arrangement. The last example, St. Stephen's Walbrook, has a more complex treatment, combining the basilican plan, with a central dome, carried on an octagon; the ceilings over the chancel and nave, and short transepts, are barrel-vaulted, and those of the aisles, which in this case are double, have flat ceilings. This is only a rough description of one of the most beautiful interiors imaginable; the plan is very simple, and the proportions most harmonious, and, so far as internal beauty is concerned, Wren never surpassed this church, which is one of his earliest works.

In quick succession to these four churches came, in 1673, St. Olave Jewry, and St. Benet Fink; in 1674, St. Dionis

Backchurch, St. George Botolph, and St. Michael Wood Street, the latter finished in 1675; in 1676, St. Magnus London Bridge, St. James Garlick Hythe, St. Mildred Poultry, and St. Stephen Coleman Street; in 1677, St. Lawrence Jewry, St. Nicholas Cole Abbey, St. Mary Aldermanbury, and St. Michael Queenhythe. Of these churches, St. Magnus and St. James are basilican in type, but the last-mentioned has a sort of transeptal arrangement. St. Magnus has a very fine tower and spire, almost rivalling in beauty and harmony of outline, the spire of Bow Church, but this fine campanile was not added until long after the church was completed—indeed, not until 1705. St. Lawrence Jewry is a simple parallelogram, with a broad aisle on the north side, only partially occupied by the area of the church, the upper part forming a gallery with roomy vestibules below, very useful for purposes of civic state, as this church became the Corporation Church, on the destruction of the Guildhall Chapel on the opposite side of the yard. The chief beauty of this church is its unusually rich woodwork. At the west end is a very stately vestry, superbly panelled in oak, with a painted ceiling. St. Nicholas Cole Abbey is a simple parallelogram, without aisles, and with a flat trabiated ceiling, but the west end is treated in a very original manner with three lofty arches, which contain organ and side galleries; the lower part is screened off from the church, and forms a vestibule and vestry, and the north-west arch opens into the tower, the lower part of which, with the spiral staircase, seems to be the ancient tower re-cased. St. Olave Jewry was a simple parallelogram in plan with a west tower, and was remarkable for its irregularity, being almost coffin-shaped in plan; the east end being much narrower than the west.

St. Dionis Backchurch had a short and broad nave and aisles. St. Stephen Coleman is a parallelogram without aisles. St. Mildred Poultry was nearly square without aisles, but had a tower breaking awkwardly into the area. St. Michael Queenhythe was oblong without aisles. St.

Mary Aldermanbury is basilican with a west tower. St. Michael Wood Street is oblong without aisles. St. Benet Fink had a very curious and interesting plan, the most remarkable of all this group, for it consisted of an elliptical dome in the centre, carried by six columns and pendentives, and surrounded by a decagon with a western tower; each of the six arches opened into recesses, of which two on the south and two on the north were parallel, and the east and west at right angles, the four triangular spaces having flat ceilings. Of this group of churches, all built between 1673 and 1677, no less than five have already been destroyed, and another (St. George Botolph) is threatened.

From 1678 to 1688 (the year of James II.'s forced retirement from the throne), Wren was exceedingly busy. One would have thought that the Cathedral alone would have been sufficient to occupy his time, but he designed in rapid succession St. Michael Bassishaw, St. Swithin Cannon Street, and St. Bartholomew by the Bank, in 1678; St. Bride Fleet Street (one of his largest and finest churches), in 1679; St. Clement Danes and St. Anne and St. Agnes Aldersgate, in 1680; St. Peter Cornhill, another fine handsome church, in 1681; St. Antholin Budge Row, a very curious domed plan, elliptical, like St. Benet Fink, but carried on eight columns and pendentives, with a finely proportioned stone western tower and spire, in 1682; All Hallows Thames Street, called generally All Hallows the Great, St. Augustine and St. Faith Watling Street, St. Clement Eastcheap, St. Benet Paul's Wharf, St. James Piccadilly (a large and fine church), St. Mildred Bread Street, in 1683; All Hallows Bread Street, and St. Martin Ludgate, in 1684; St. Alban Wood Street (Gothic in style), St. Mary Magdalene Old Fish Street, and St. Matthew Friday Street, in 1685; St. Mary Abchurch, in 1686; St. Andrew Holborn (the largest of all his churches), Christ Church Newgate Street, and St. Margaret Pattens, in 1687; and St. Michael Crooked Lane, in 1688. Eight of these have been destroyed, or, more correctly speaking, seven (as St. Michael Bassishaw is

still in process of demolition), the most deplorable losses being the churches of St. Antholin Budge Row (with its fine spire), and St. Mary Magdalene Old Fish Street,[1] with its remarkably fine oak carving, probably by Grinling Gibbons, as it is so much more delicate and light in character than the carving in most of these churches. In this group are included some one or two churches of the most original design and conception. St. Swithin, which is an octagon contained within a square, carries an elegant and well-proportioned dome, the square being prolonged to the west so as to include a tower at the south-west corner, and a deep west gallery, with a flat plaster ceiling over it. St. Mildred Bread Street, which is exceedingly simple; a plain parallelogram without aisles, but broken up internally by a shallow circular dome, on pendentives, and two arched recesses on the east and west sides. St. Mary Abchurch is another domed church, similar in plan and arrangement to St. Swithin, but that the tower occupies the north-west corner, while the dome (painted by Sir James Thornhill) is carried on semicircular arches or groins, and has lucarne lights. St. Anne and St. Agnes Aldersgate, and St. Martin Ludgate, are both similar as to plan, but not in arrangement. The plan is a square, divided by four columns, into four nearly equal arms, which are arched and meet in a groined vault over the central area, while over the four angle squares the ceilings are flat and lower. Both churches are separated from the street on the west by a central tower and flanking vestibules. St. Martin's Ludgate, with its graceful lead spire and gallery, forms a splendid contrast to the overpowering mass of the Cathedral in the background, and makes the view of the latter wonderfully picturesque when approached from the west—a view which has been completely ruined by the London, Chatham and Dover Railway Company's hideous iron bridge (bristling with griffins), built right across the thoroughfare, so that the winding street and the little

[1] The loss of this church was attributable to an unfortunate fire in a neighbouring warehouse, and not to wanton destruction.

spire have lost all their poetry. All Hallows the Great, now demolished, was chiefly remarkable for its splendid high screen in oak, which has recently been placed in the church of St. Margaret Lothbury. All Hallows had already been shorn of its north aisle and tower, and with singular incongruity the site has recently been purchased by a firm of brewers.

Although during the next year (1689) no new church seems to have been commenced, the work of rebuilding and finishing progressed rapidly, and Wren was fully occupied with many large and important works, including the College of Physicians, Chelsea Hospital, and Hampton Court Palace, the latter for William and Mary, who both entertained for Wren a warm regard. During the next decade we find him again busy on the churches: in 1690 the fabrics of St. Edmund the King Lombard Street, St. Margaret's Lothbury (begun in 1686), St. Andrew by the Wardrobe (finished 1692). In 1694 were built All Hallows Lombard Street, St. Michael Royal, and in 1695 St. Mary Somerset. In the latter year towers and spires were added to St. Augustine and St. Faith Watling Street, and to St. Vedast Foster. In 1696 St. Christopher-le-Stocks was further embellished, and a painted monument placed to the memory of Mary II., then lately deceased.

On December 2nd, 1697, the choir of the new Cathedral of St. Paul was formally consecrated for divine service, which has continued uninterruptedly ever since. The occasion was the Peace of Ryswick, and Wren was then sixty-five years of age. In 1699 the very beautiful spire of St. Dunstan in the East was finished by him. It is Gothic in form and outline, reminding one somewhat of the departed glory of the old spire of St. Mary-le-Bow or St. Nicholas Newcastle, yet differing from them both in that the central lantern is carried up much higher, as a perfect spire. In this year he also repaired the body of the church, which had only been hastily patched up after the Fire, and he was then busy with the Collegiate Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster, which from the decayed nature of the external

stonework demanded immediate attention. Whether he was really responsible for the design of the western towers is a moot point. In his report to Dr. Atterbury, then Dean, he strongly urges that the towers should be carried up above the roof to a uniform height, and that the west gable should be completed and the west window strengthened, and mentions that he has made a design for the central tower and spire, but adds nothing as to having made a design for the western towers. Possibly the model still preserved in Westminster Abbey was made from his design. In 1704 he completed the towers of St. Andrew Holborn and Christchurch Newgate Street, and in 1705 the spire of St. Magnus.

In 1708 the Act for building fifty new churches in the neighbourhood of London, was passed, and Wren was appointed one of the Commissioners. He made a long report to his brother Commissioners as to many points he thought very necessary to be observed, in the erection of the proposed churches. This report is curious, and very valuable, but it is too long for insertion here. It presents the ideas of a man who, having built many churches, knew perfectly what he was talking about. There are important points observable in all Wren's churches, which it is a pity his successors did not profit by. They were eminently Christian; he never attempted huge columns, porticoes, and pediments borrowed from heathen temples; he was not afraid of good honest brick, and the introduction of galleries, sometimes unfortunately rendered necessary, was never objectionable in his works, and in his report he recommends that the "churches should not be filled with pews," which, to his honour, he much disliked. His words are: "It were to be wished there were to be no pews, but benches; but there is no stemming the tide of profit and the advantage of pew-keepers." Another remark strikes us in these days as curious: "That the poor may have room enough to *stand* and sit in the *alleys*," a fatal mistake, which the Church has suffered from, and is suffering from to this day, and which led to the alienation of the lower classes.

In 1710, Wren, being in his seventy-eighth year, assisted by his son Christopher and Mr. Strong, the Master-mason to the Cathedral, laid the top stone. Although old, he was still as active and vigorous as ever, and in 1711 he built the beautiful Gothic church of St. Mary Aldermary upon the plan of the old church as it was before the Fire. In 1721 (two years before his death), he completed the new Gothic tower to St. Michael Cornhill, nearly fifty years after he had built the body of the church. Half a century! and what a half-century of work! Truly it may be said of him, "Whatsoever his hand found to do, he did it with his might," and no more appropriate epitaph, or one more touching in its very brevity, could be written, than that which is found on the simple stone covering the place where he sleeps after life's fitful fever:

CHRISTOPHORUS · WREN
QUI VIXIT ANNOS ULTRA · NONAGINTA
NON SIBI SED BONO PUBLICO
LECTOR · SI MONUMENTUM REQUIRIS
CIRCUMSPICE.

From the foregoing remarks it will be noticed that these churches of Wren may be roughly grouped into five distinct types: first, the basilican, of which there are eighteen, and which have the nave and aisles with towers generally at the west end of the nave, but occasionally at the north-west or south-west corner; secondly, the plain parallelogram with one aisle, either on the north or south, of which type there are seven; thirdly, the plain parallelogram without aisles, of which there are thirteen; fourthly, those in which the principle of the dome predominates, of which there are six; and, fifthly, the Greek cross, of which there are three. But in no single case are these plans copies of one another. There is a distinct individuality about each; local considerations of site, relation to leading thoroughfares, the position from which the tower and spire could best be seen, were all points which he carefully considered. The internal

fittings were of the best; the oak used for the seating and panelling was well selected, the plaster work rich and varied, and the carving admirably executed.

Wren rarely built constructional chancels, but almost invariably marked the division between nave and chancel by a low screen of carved work placed on the top of the very high pews. The pulpits were always admirably designed and carved, and many had highly enriched sounding-boards, but the altars were generally very low and small in size—a fashion which he introduced, for during the reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I., they were rather large. Marble and stone altars were not uncommon. St. Antholin, St. Mary Aldermary, and All Hallows the Great, St. Clement Danes, St. Andrew Holborn, and several others possessed them; but the altar at St. Stephen's Walbrook is of oak and is semicircular. Some of these oak altars have their carved supports, taking the form of angels and cherubs, as at St. Vedast Foster, and they were invariably raised on a foot-pace of marble. The fonts, always of marble, were small basin-shaped vases, supported on baluster shafts, and usually provided with a rich oak cover. Many of these are very beautiful works of art, notably those at All Hallows Barking, St. Margaret Lothbury, St. Stephen Walbrook, and St. James Piccadilly; in the last-named church the font itself is very beautiful. Wren generally placed the organ in a west gallery, also occupied by the choir; for choir-stalls in the chancel did not exist in his time, except in large cathedral or collegiate churches, or in the old parish churches, where the ancient arrangement had not been disturbed. Many of his City churches did not possess organs until long after his time; the most prominent feature in all of them was the lofty carved oak altar-piece, which, in obedience to the Canon, displayed the Decalogue, flanked by the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer, and by figures of Moses and Aaron, surmounted by the Royal Arms, and sometimes the seven golden candlesticks (with sham tapers and gilt flames), in allusion to the Book of Revelation

of St. John the Divine, were to be found. Real candlesticks decorated the altars of St. Benet Gracechurch and All Hallows Barking, these being placed on the altar itself. In these churches the galleries formed an integral part of the design, and the approaches to them were easy and commodious. The passages between the pews were wide; altar-rails were generally returned at the sides, and very handsome metal work in the shape of brass branches or chandeliers, and wrought-iron sword-rests of most varied design, were to be found in nearly all. Stone spires were not so general as those of timber covered with lead, which Wren also used largely in roofing.

Perhaps it will not be out of place here to allude to the services which were held in these churches at this time. Prayers were said twice daily (morning and evening) in many, and, in almost all, there were services on Wednesdays and Fridays and Holydays, besides the ordinary Sunday services, which were generally three in number; while the large and important churches had always two, and on Wednesdays and Fridays three services daily. Our forefathers must have been earlier risers than we, for morning prayers were often said at six or seven o'clock.

Nicholas Hawksmoor, the most original of Wren's pupils and successors, was born in the year of the Great Fire, and was articled to Wren in 1683, so that he was associated with the great master in many of his most important works. His style is not so graceful as Wren's, but partakes more of the heaviness of Vanbrugh. His finest works are Christchurch Spitalfields (1715), which has a remarkably fine interior, St. George's Bloomsbury, St. Mary Woolnoth (1719), which had only been patched up by Wren after the Fire, St. Anne Limehouse (1724), and St. George's in the East (1728).

Christchurch Spitalfields is a parallelogram with aisles and western tower and spire, and in many ways shows a marked divergence from Wren's plans. Its western entrance and spire are entirely different from anything which preceded them, the latter resembling the upper part of a

Norman or Early English spire. This peculiar original treatment by Hawksmoor is still more marked in St. Mary Woolnoth, the interior of which is like the atrium or covered hall of a classical domestic building, in which a heavy baldachino with twisted columns, and a sort of imitation tester all in oak (a faint sort of reminiscence of St. Peter's at Rome) almost fills the eastern recess. This church formerly possessed galleries, but when the alterations were carried out by Mr. Butterfield these were removed, and their fronts stuck upon the side walls in a very meaningless manner. As in all Hawksmoor's churches, the floor is raised on vaults, considerably above the street level. The interior, in spite of the alterations, remains a very fine arrangement, and if the central square had been covered with a small dome on pendentives, it would certainly have been one of the most original and effective church interiors in London. The baldachino is very curious, and it is worthy of note that Wren contemplated placing one in St. Paul's Cathedral. Neither St. George's in the East or St. Anne's Limehouse, finished in 1728 and 1724 respectively, call for any particular remarks, but they are both large and spacious churches. Hawksmoor had his imitators, and in that most extraordinary building, St. John the Evangelist, Westminster, Archer, who was the architect (although Sir John Vanbrugh has usually the discredit), tried to imitate the solidity and massiveness of Hawksmoor's peculiar style, but failed lamentably. In so far as the internal arrangements are concerned, St. George's Bloomsbury has been so greatly altered that really nothing of the original remains, and the altar, which stood in its correct liturgical position, in an apse on the east side, has been transferred to the recess on the north side, while the old oak pews have been cut down and made to face north. Hawksmoor was rather given to the use of a depressed or elliptical arch which one finds in nearly all his churches; his towers and spires were certainly original, perhaps more original than beautiful. St. Mary Woolnoth has a most extraordinary

western façade, the upper part of which breaks out into what may be described as a twin tower arrangement, and St. George's Bloomsbury has a remarkable pyramidical steeple of diminishing steps, which is surmounted by a statue, not of St. George, but of King George I. Hogarth's well-known print of "Gin Lane" gives a view of this steeple, seen above that awful rookery which then existed and was only cleared away when New Oxford Street was formed. The following well-known lines refer to this remarkable spire:

> "When Henry the Eighth left the Pope in the lurch
> The Protestants made him Head of the Church;
> But George's good subjects, the Bloomsbury people,
> Instead of the church made him head of the steeple."

Another prominent church architect during the first two decades of the seventeenth century was James Gibbs, whom we find completing one of Wren's churches, the upper part of the tower and spire of St. Clement Danes being his work. His own contributions to the architecture of London were of no ordinary merit. They possess an amount of originality in treatment which makes them distinct both from Wren's graceful conceptions and from Hawksmoor's heavier productions, while in the use of the Orders he certainly showed greater knowledge than the last-named architect.

Gibbs was born about 1674 at Aberdeen, and after taking his degree of Master of Arts there (about 1700), when he was in his twenty-sixth year, he went to Holland, where he studied architecture; afterwards, by the help of his patron, the Earl of Mar, he went to Italy, where he studied under an architect named Garroli, in Rome. On his return to England he was, through the influence of the same nobleman (then in the Ministry), employed by the Commissioners as one of their architects for building the fifty new churches. His principal work in London is the church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, which was commenced in 1720. This church shows how thoroughly Gibbs was imbued with the Classic spirit, for we here find the regular Classical portico attached

to a church, a feature much affected by succeeding architects; but the first three examples of which are St. Martin's, by Gibbs, 1720, St. George's Hanover Square, by John James, 1724, and St. George's Bloomsbury, by Hawksmoor, 1731, all satisfactory and stately enough. Another well-known London church from Gibbs' hand is St. Mary-le-Strand, a very beautiful specimen of architecture, the contrast between which and St. Mary Woolnoth shows the extraordinary divergence between the styles of the two men—Hawksmoor, vigorous and bold almost to coarseness, and Gibbs, over-refined and delicate almost to fussiness. Some may feel inclined to give the palm to St. Mary Woolnoth, not for its beauty, but for its extreme originality. St. Mary-le-Strand is certainly most advantageously placed in a very wide part of the Strand, on the site of the old maypole which Pope, in the "Dunciad," alludes to in the well-known lines:

> "Amid that area wide they took their stand,
> Where the tall maypole once o'erlooked the Strand;
> But now, so Anne and Piety ordain,
> A church collects the saints of Drury Lane."

The church is still most needed, not so much for the saints, as for the sinners who may yet be found in its neighbourhood.

Gibbs was equally successful in his civil architecture, as witness the Radcliffe Library at Oxford, the new buildings at King's College, Cambridge, and the great quadrangle of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, the gateway of which however, towards Smithfield, was not his work. He died in 1754, and in grateful recognition of his patron, the Earl of Mar, left both money and estates to his lordship's son.

St. Giles-in-the-Fields, the work of Henry Flitcroft, may justly be described as a poor copy of St. Martin's, but there is considerable merit about the spire, which is original in treatment. Flitcroft built another church, St. Olave's Southwark, which is but a poor production, and the same may be said of most of the churches which

followed. They seemed to get worse and worse, and one has only to point to such buildings as St. Luke's Old Street, St. John's Westminster, by Archer, St. Leonard's Shoreditch, by Dance (the spire of which, however, is both graceful and original), St. Botolph's Aldgate, and St. Botolph's Bishopsgate, by James Gold, to see to what utter bathos ecclesiastical architecture could descend, were it not that beneath this lowest depth, there was still a lower. The last shreds of ecclesiastical arrangement and tradition were finally abandoned, and the closer externally a church could be made to resemble a Greek temple the better was the *critical* taste of the period satisfied.

I do not intend to discuss these later buildings, of which in London we unfortunately possess so many examples. In many cases the interiors have been remodelled in an entirely different style to the exteriors, and some of them very cleverly; in one or two instances the Greek temple remains externally, while the pewed and galleried interior may be Romanesque or Byzantine, or anything else. Nothing surely could make them worse than they were originally. Unfortunately this mania for altering the interiors of old churches did not stop short at those built in the reigns of the two Georges, but has extended with disastrous results even to the works of Sir Christopher Wren, and several of his churches have had to bear the indignity of stone tracery inserted in their windows, and of flimsy Gothic woodwork replacing the old wainscot fittings, with Birmingham brass gas standards and staring tile pavements, and other gewgaws of the latest "correct" medieval taste, including stained glass of wretchedly "poor" Gothic drawing and colouring. Good in themselves, they have been tricked out in a meretricious fashion utterly repugnant to the style in which they were originally designed, and now present such a pitiable appearance that one can only hope we have seen the last of this fashion, and that in future they will be left in peace, secure alike from the hand of the destroyer, and the equally fatal touch of the renovator with a Gothic craze.

THE PRIORY CHURCH OF S. MARY, OVERIE, NOW THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF S. SAVIOUR, SOUTHWARK.

By G. H. BIRCH, F.S.A.

To those who remember this structure but only a few years back, and wandered into the aisles and choir and retro-choir, and who may have indulged in dreams of what it was, of what it might be, it seemed an impossibility that such dreams could ever be realised or such lofty aspirations brought about; and yet look around, and if there are any who at times despair of what our Church is, and feel how impossible it is to free her from those bonds which men have devised to bind and fetter her to their wills, let them take heart from what has been done here, and see how difficulties, no matter how insurmountable they appear, with only tact and patience, and a steadfast hope and belief in the divine mission of the Church, may be overcome, and prejudice and legal obstacles, seemingly mountains high, will sink into insignificance.

The borough of Southwark, or the "South work," is evidently named from the defence raised to protect the city and its approach from the south: but whether this approach took the form of a timber bridge or ferry, one cannot speak with much certainty; my own belief is, that there was a timber bridge here in very early times, even Roman, for the broad tidal river would offer very little difficulty to men who were accustomed to works which even now we deem stupendous. Of the existence of a bridge during the Danish invasions we have certainly historic evidence; and that this wooden bridge was twice destroyed by fire in 1136 and 1163 is a matter

beyond dispute, and it was either repaired or rebuilt in 1176, to be again reduced to ruin by the same devouring element in 1212, until the stone bridge, which was looked upon as a most marvellous structure, was begun in 1213; and marvellous it certainly was, when one contemplates the engineering difficulties of foundations in a broad, deep, swiftly-flowing and tidal river. Built, however, it was, and the borough of Southwark became united to London. Long

S. SAVIOUR'S, SOUTHWARK.

before even the first burning of the bridge, we find this church was founded, and several legends, most of them apocryphal, gathered round its supposed foundation. One of them is interesting from a fanciful resemblance in the name to the ferry already alluded to. John Stow, the first who ever collected anything with regard to the antiquities of London, and faithfully recorded all that he knew or that he

had gathered from hearsay or from documents, mentions one of these legends: That in that long time ago, a religious house of Sisters stood on this spot before the Norman times, and that it was known as the house of S. Marie "over the rie," or over the river, and that certain profits were made by ferrying people across before a bridge was built (that idea, I am afraid, we must dismiss at once); and then this house or community of Sisters was afterwards changed into a college of priests by no less a person than S. Swithin, Bishop of Winchester, and like most others it suffered much from those dreaded Danes. One little bit of documentary history, the Domesday Book, or rather an extract from it quoted in Bishop Tanner's *Notitia Ecclesiastica:* "Sudrie or Sudrie Terra Episcopi Baiocencis. Ipse Episcopus habet in Sudwerche unum monasterium" is vague enough, and may probably refer to some other foundation.

But passing to firmer ground, for both figuratively and in reality it was all very marshy and unstable, the Roman road or causeway from Southwark was carried from the bridge southwards on piles. History points distinctly and definitely to the year 1106, in the reign of Henry I., when three years after Rahere had commenced his foundation—the priory of S. Bartholomew's, Smithfield,—two knights, William Pont de l'Arche, a place on the Seine above Rouen, and William Dauncey, both probably Norman followers of the reigning Norman House, founded this church, and for the same Order as that at S. Bartholomew, namely, the Order of the Canons regular of St. Augustine, who were commonly called Austin or Black Canons. Their dress was a long black cassock with a white rochet over it, and with a black cloak and hood; their rule was not quite so severe as that of the Benedictines, but like them they were men of some position and education, and, although tonsured, wore their beards; their principal study was medicine.

Of this first church very little remains, although in extent it was much about the same size as the present one. The Canons and the two founders were considerably helped in

this good work of theirs by Gyffard, Bishop of Winchester, a man of some architectural ability, as he had been called upon to rebuild the central tower of his own cathedral, which had been rebuilt by Bishop Walkelyn, and had fallen in; and so soon as the church was sufficiently advanced, and the adjoining priory buildings completed, the Canons moved in, and chose Algodus for their first prior. It is just probable that this help from the Bishop of Winchester was due to the fact that at about this time the Bishops came to reside at Winchester Palace, which adjoined the priory on the north-west, and occupied ground formerly belonging to Bermondsey Abbey, as the Bishops paid an annual ground-rent for it.

We have now to consider what was the appearance and size of this first house of the Black Canons in Southwark, and in this we are very much helped by comparison with other buildings in London erected by the same Order. I have already alluded to S. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, part of which remains to this day. This priory had been founded three years before S. Mary, Overie, and Rahere, from his former Court connection, could command larger sums; but in plan the two churches would be much about the same: their wants and requirements were the same, the only difference being that at S. Bartholomew's the priory buildings were to the south of the church, and here from local reasons they are to the north.

The third large church and priory, that of the Holy Trinity, was founded by Queen Matilda, daughter of S. Margaret of Scotland, and granddaughter of Edgar Atheling. This last church, I believe, was the first founded, and certainly was the largest belonging to the Austin Canons; and fragments built into houses in the neighbourhood show it to have been Norman, for one portion of the choir aisle encircling the apse remained until the present century.

From these two churches we may safely, I think, conclude that the Norman termination of S. Mary's was also apsidal, and that it had an aisle round it out of which opened three or more small apsidal chapels, while the north and south

transepts had also apsidal chapels on the eastern sides, with a low central tower, probably capped with a spire of timber and lead. There is every reason to believe that it possessed also western towers, from a curious thickening of the piers towards the west end of the Early English nave. The Norman nave again was pretty nearly of the same extent as the present, as you can see from the position of the two doors opening into the eastern and western walks of the cloisters. I should state that the foundations of the northern apsidal chapel still exist.

In the year 1213 this stately church was much injured, if not nearly destroyed, by one of those often recurring fires which devastated the borough; and although in one sense it was a calamity, yet the ancient fabric was again rebuilt, and of this the choir and aisles, retro-choir, lady chapel and transepts still remain, more or less unchanged with the exception of the lady chapel. Some authorities put this fire down as occurring in 1207.

Another Bishop of Winchester, Peter de Rupibus, being the latinised edition of Peter de la Roche, came to the rescue of the Canons, and the church again rose triumphantly from its ashes; but in the meanwhile that wonderful change of style from Norman to Early English had taken place, and the rebuilding was in that style; and if this occurred immediately after 1207, or even 1213, and allowing four or five years to elapse to clear away the old walls and put in fresh foundations, it makes the date 1215, there or thereabouts, a very early date for such perfectly well developed Early English work, especially when you remember that the choir of the Temple Church is only dated 1240 to 1245. But it is not altogether impossible. Godfrey de Lucey, Bishop of Winchester, had already rebuilt the eastern part and lady chapel of Winchester; and as he only held the see from 1189 to 1204, we find the Early English style there perfectly developed some years before it was used here, so there is nothing to militate against it. They probably rebuilt the nave first, as the priory buildings adjoined it, and it was

necessary for the Canons to have a shelter over their heads. Then the choir and aisles were taken in hand, but seemed to have proceeded slowly. Peter de Rupibus built the large chapel of S. Mary Magdalene, on the south side of the choir aisle; but all this part seems to have been finished before 1260, when Archbishop Boniface consecrated Henry de Wengham, Bishop of London, on the 15th of February, in this church. The transepts and upper part of tower were still incomplete in 1273; when another Giffard, Walter, Archbishop of York, granted thirty days' indulgence to those who helped in this good work.

The commencement of the 14th century still saw this church incomplete, as the central tower had not been carried much higher than the roofs; but the transepts were completed and the remaining apsidal chapel in the north transept probably removed for a square chapel (?).

In the reign of Richard II. another fire injured it, and it was found necessary to rebuild the clerestory of the nave, substituting for the original lancets two-light windows with traceried heads, and to this restoration the poet Gower contributed.

In 1469 the stone vaulting of the nave fell in, probably because the walls had been weakened by the insertion of the new windows, and instead of restoring it they replaced it by an oaken vault of rather a rich character, with a profusion of carved wooden bosses; but a curious circumstance occurred. The designers of this oaken vault, instead of following the divisions or bays of the nave, treated it independently, so that the centres of the compartments did not always coincide with the bays below. The section of this vault was much flatter; a similar roof was also put over the north transept. In the next century, during the episcopate of Fox, Bishop of Winchester, the magnificent and lofty reredos was erected, of a similar character to those at Winchester, New College, Magdalen and All Souls', Oxford, S. Alban's and Christchurch.

Before passing to the description of these superb

specimens of medieval art, it would be as well if I drew your attention to the last-mentioned church, the priory of Christchurch, Twynham, Hants.

This fine structure was also one of the churches belonging to the Austin Canons, and, more fortunate than its Metropolitan sister churches, still exists in a very perfect condition, to give a very accurate idea of what they were like; and in many respects there is a resemblance to S. Mary's, but in plan only. The work at Christchurch is principally of two periods, late Norman, Prior Flambard's work in the nave and transepts, and a later reconstruction in the 15th century of the choir and aisles, and lady chapel. It is longer than S. Mary's, being 311 feet; but this includes a large western tower added in the 15th century, the full width of the nave, and opening into it by a lofty arch. The nave is of seven bays, of very fine Norman work, and with a lofty triforium. The clerestory and vaulting are later, indeed are modern, the old roof being a fine oak roof, with kingposts and arched principals. The transepts are of good projection, and the south transept still retains its apsidal chapel, while that on the north has been converted into two small chapels. The piers of the central crossing hardly look massive enough to have supported a central tower. The arrangement here was probably the same as at S. Bartholomew's. The choir is of four bays, and the lady chapel beyond of three; the two first bays of which are taken up by a prolongation eastward of the north and south choir aisles.

Externally, the absence of the central tower and the lowness of the transept roofs take off from the cruciform effect, while the elevation of the external walls of the lady chapel, which are carried up nearly to the same height of the choir, gives an elongated appearance to this which in reality it does not possess. Externally, as I have said, there is no resemblance; but in the earlier portion of the nave and aisles and transepts—in their plan and arrangement there is a similarity; and if it had only retained its Norman choir, we

should have had in Christchurch priory a perfectly typical church of the Austin Canons.

The old plan of S. Mary's shows a nave of seven bays, transepts without aisles, but with eastern chapel, a central tower, a choir of five bays, and a retro-choir of three bays, divided from north to south into four bays; two arches behind the reredos opened into the two central bays, while a continuation of the southernmost formed a lady chapel. The triforium of the choir was continued across these arches, and they themselves were blocked in the 14th century by panelling, even if they were not destroyed; and when Bishop Fox added the reredos, the panelling was also blocked, except on the east side. An examination of this 14th century panelling rather indicates that the blocking and panelling are the same date as the stones of the tracery, and the walling are cut from the same block.

The chapel of S. Mary Magdalene, on the south side of the choir aisle, seemed a very awkward arrangement, for while this was only of three bays from east to west, it occupied four bays of the choir aisle and necessarily opened into it by openings in each bay; a large projecting buttress, rendered necessary by the vaulting of the choir and aisles, also intruded into the area of this chapel. Originally, there was no west door to the nave; this was afterwards put, and interfered sadly with some very beautiful wall arcading. In the superb and careful rebuilding, Sir Arthur Blomfield has not restored this door, but has made his main approach as of old from the south porch.

I am afraid it is a twice-told tale to tell of the degradation and wanton destruction that this beautiful fabric underwent from the time of the last prior, Bartholomew Fowle, until comparatively recent years. Had it not been that a love for the ancient still existed in the hearts of a very few, nothing would have been left of the ancient structure at all. The revenues at the surrender were £624 6s. 6d., and this was of course greedily swallowed up, and disappeared into the capacious maw of the first "Defender of the Faith"; but

by gracious permission the two parishes of S. Margaret and S. Mary Magdalene were allowed to purchase the church as a parish church; but the possession was rather akin to that of a white elephant, with no funds to keep so large a structure in repair. They used the choir and two bays of the nave, taking a gallery across at that point and dividing off the nave by a wainscot partition, the interior having been purged of all popish and superstitious adjuncts, including the rood-loft and the images on the altar screen; and thus through the remainder of the 16th and the greater part of the 17th century the church fell further and further into decay.

In 1703 it was beautified. Fox's altar-piece was shorn of all its projecting niches, and a fine but rather heavy oak altar-piece substituted in the style of the period, of wreaths and urns and flying cherubim; side galleries were added, and wainscot pews blocked the interior.

In 1821 it had become really ruinous; but fortunately Gwilt, who was called in, set about at once to reconstruct and restore portions which were absolutely unsafe, and the choir and aisles and retro-choir were thoroughly repaired. 1821 to 1830 was not a good period for ecclesiastical architecture, and it is a wonder that what was then done was done so well; and one can only be too thankful that that part of the fabric was preserved to us, for it is due entirely to Gwilt. Unfortunately, Gwilt did not superintend the whole of the restoration; parish plots and squabbles interfered, and other men of no knowledge were entrusted with the work.

In 1835 Robert Wallace undertook the transepts, and a frightful hash he made of them, putting external walls of timber and plaster, with tiles stuck on, covering up purbeck marble shafts with stucco, adding plaster vaulting, removing the old and designing entirely new windows, until there was scarcely a scrap of old work left. The chapel of S. Mary Magdalene had been already removed some twelve years before, and the place made good where it stood, so that no trace remained.

After this great bite out of the structure was made, another nibble took place; this time it was the lady chapel, or bishops' chapel, which projected eastward from the retro-choir. This was sacrificed, as it was thought it would interfere with the approach to the new London bridge; but a glance at the existing building will show how utterly groundless such an idea was.

The spirit of destruction was abroad and wanted something to feed on, and the nave was next selected as a *bonne bouche;* and on the report of two parish surveyors it was condemned as unsafe, and down it came. This was between 1833 and 1838; but it was so strongly built that they met with the greatest difficulty in destroying it, and it is a marvel that in their work of destruction the central tower did not come rattling down about their ears. It was all removed within six feet of the ground, and a neat and commodious edifice was erected on the site, with galleries and cast-iron columns, and the Ten Commandments, plaster ceilings, and plenty of hassocks and cocoa-nut matting, and galleries, and a sham window looking into the old choir. This wonderful production, now a shuddering memory only, was consecrated in 1838. I remember well going down into the vaults underneath and seeing portions of the older nave, and dreaming of whether it would ever, and could ever, be rebuilt. It was impossible—it was incredible—that it ever could be; but look around. *Laus Deo!*

In the old nave, I have already referred to that extraordinary enlargement of the second pier from the west on each side; and at the first glance one would be almost tempted to believe that a western tower, with a lofty arch opening into the nave, was at first contemplated as at Christchurch; but the western tower was an addition to that original fabric long after, in the 15th century. It is possible that here they may have had some such idea; but it was very soon abandoned, and the nave proceeded with uniformly. But this was not the only peculiarity at the west end. Buckler made a drawing of the last compartment of the south aisle of the

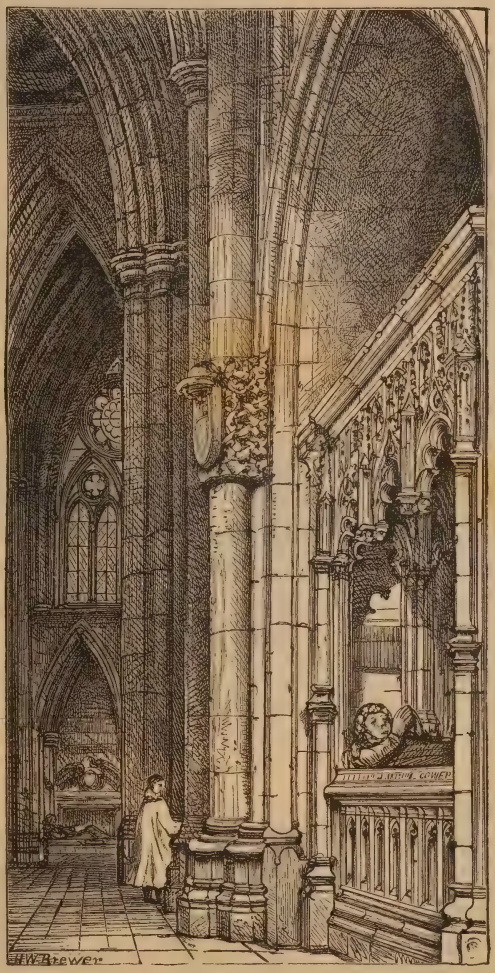
nave, and if you look at the respond, it is manifestly of the Transitional period, with the square abaci and romanesque-looking foliage,—too early for Peter de Rupibus and too late for Giffard; while the vaulting in both the north and south aisles is curiously distorted in two bays on each side, clearly pointing to some change of plan; and all throughout the nave there is the same irregularity of setting out, difficult to account for, unless on the hypothesis of De Rupibus having placed his foundations of the new nave on the older Norman ones of Giffard, and then found that they hardly agreed with his intended quadripartite vaulting and got over the difficulty in the best way he could.

I shoud also draw your attention to the four great arches of the tower. Those opening into the nave and choir are early 13th century, while those opening into the transepts are 14th century. Above these, blocked out by a flat ceiling, is a very beautiful wall arcade, evidently meant to be seen, and which is again to be open to view. And still another point worth noticing; and that is, the bases of the northern arch are considerably raised from the floor, masking the stone screen placed at the back of the stalls, and screening off the chapel of S. Peter. You will probably recollect that you saw exactly the same arrangement at S. Bartholomew's; the odd feature of this is, that there should be no traces on the south side. The triforium gallery of the nave next to the great arch showed also a departure from the other compartments; the lancet arches had been removed, and a segmental single arch on each side inserted. There is little doubt but that this was done to render the access to the pulpitum or rood loft much easier, for it would hardly have been seemly for the deacon, with costly embroidered dalmatic, to squeeze through a narrow opening to chant the Gospel, a practice common enough in small parish churches, but hardly dignified in a church of this size and with a large staff of clergy.

The first window of the south aisle of nave, next to the south transept, was different to the others in the same aisle

it was of three lights, with tracerial head. This is difficult to account for unless there was an altar outside the choir screen, and it was wanted to throw more light. A stone coffin was found just below this in 1798, about a foot below the pavement.

Among the interesting features brought to light during the late work of rebuilding the nave was the old prior's door at the east end of the north aisle of the nave, which originally opened into the eastern walk of the cloisters. It shows traces of fire, probably the one in 1213, and on the eastern jamb are two circular panels, one over the other, roughly incised with crosses, supposed, but with very little likelihood, to have been consecration crosses; if so, they must have belonged to the first church and have been placed here. Next in order came the discovery of the canons' door



S. SAVIOUR'S, SOUTHWARK.
MONUMENT TO JOHN GOWER.

opening into the west walk of the cloisters, and an arched recess, which may have been for a tomb. The pavement has been sunk in front of this door, to show the level, which of course had been considerably raised since the building of the first Norman church; and close to the prior's door a holy-water stoup has been uncovered, while the walling here showed unmistakable traces of the fire which consumed the nave. Inside the north transept, on the north wall, is an aumbry or cupboard of the 14th century.

Among the monuments, the most noticeable are those of the Poet Gower, the effigy in oak of a cross-legged knight and Bishop Lancelot Andrewes. Gower's monument was removed from the nave when that was pulled down, and transferred to the south transept, and has been very properly removed back again to its old position. I believe the first Duke of Sutherland was at the expense of the first removal and of its restoration. You will remember that the family name of the Sutherlands is Gower.

Bishop Andrewes' effigy was removed from the old lady chapel, when that was barbarously destroyed, and placed in the retro-choir. It is a matter of great regret that it has not been removed and placed under the last arch of the choir on the south side, where it would have formed a good pendant to the tomb on the opposite side, and made the altar less exposed, especially as its present position is not the original one.

The effigy of the knight now reposes in one of those arched tombs in the north choir aisle, not its original position. Tradition says that it was in the north transept, and was removed when that fearful periwigged individual, a vendor and seller of some wonderful pills, was buried here, and had that absurd effigy of himself erected, with an expression on his face as if he had been made to take some of his own pills. The effigy of the knight was supposed to represent one of the De Warrenne family, Earls of Surrey; but the arms which existed in Hatton's time, and are described by him, show that it could not have been one

of the De Warrennes, although one of them, William, Earl Warren, was buried here. After he had been turned out of his proper place, he stood for a long time on his feet against the wall, until he was removed to his present position. (See illustration, p. 141.) There is also one of those emaciated figures, which may probably be a portion of one of the tombs of the priors. Many of these tombs are familiar to you as representing the deceased in his full pontificals, above and below one of these figures, as a sort of *memento mori*.

S. SAVIOUR'S, SOUTHWARK.
MONUMENT TO BISHOP ANDREWES.

The effigy of Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester and Prelate of the most noble the Order of the Garter, is a very fine one, and a good portrait of a good man, and one to whom our Church owes a debt of gratitude which it would be impossible to overestimate. He was always in close attendance on James I., and it is due to his wise counsels that, during a period when the Puritan faction was bent upon destroying every portion of our Catholic inheritance, James never wavered or gave up a single thing; and to his honour it must be said, that he never turned a deaf ear to any of the bishop's advice, and that on all the great festivals or fasts of the Church it was James' invariable custom to have Andrewes to preach before him; and it

his great sorrow that on his death-bed, in consequence of Andrewes' own illness, he could not go to Theobald's to administer the Sacrament to him. The effigy represents him in his Convocation robes, and wearing the cope as Prelate of the Order of the Garter.

Another Bishop of Winchester was also buried here, bearing a name similar to that great Bishop of Winchester whose name is for all time, William Wickham. This one died in 1595. It is curious that there should have been two of the same name occupying the same see.

On one of the piers of the south transept is another memorial to a famous Bishop of Winchester, Henry Beaufort, the Cardinal, a son of John of Gaunt. On the shield are the Royal arms of France and England quarterly, within a bordure for difference, and surmounted by a cardinal's hat.

I ought to have said, when speaking of Gower's monument, that the effigy is especially interesting for its costume, which is that of a civilian, for he was not knighted, but was a learned gentleman. He wears a long habit, which falls in easy, graceful, sweeping folds to his feet. The hair is worn rather long and curled up at the end, and he has a small forked beard. On his head is a chaplet with four roses, and a collar of SS of gold. His head is supported by three of his own works—*Speculum Meditantis* in French, *Uox Clamantis* in Latin, and the *Confessio Amantis* in English; and behind on the wall were three virgins crowned. One was named "Charitie," holding this device:—

> "En Toi qui est Fitz de Dieu le Père
> Sauve soit, qui gist soubs ceste pierre."

The second was "Mercie," and the device:—

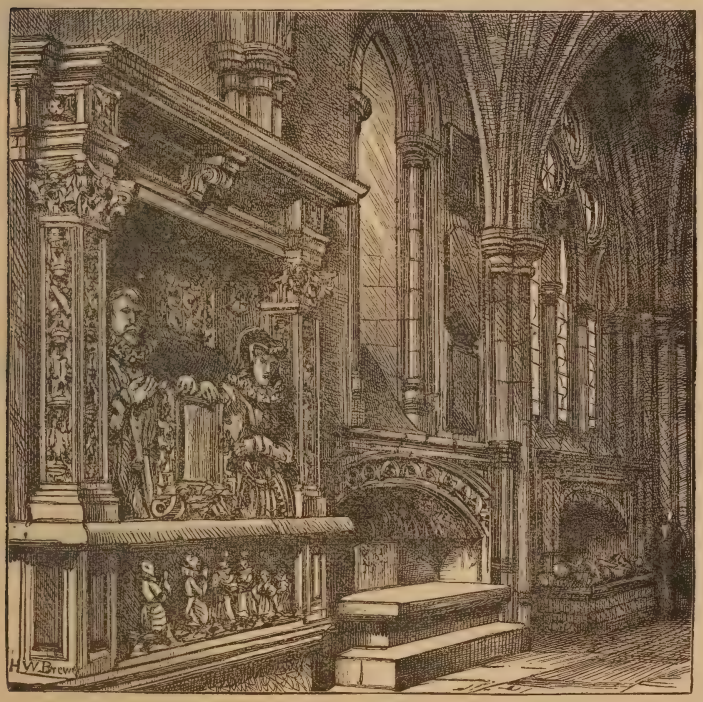
> "O bon Jesu fait ta mercie
> A l'ame dont le corps gist ici."

The third was "Pitie," and the device:—

> "Pour ta pitè, Jesu regarde
> Et met ceste ame in sauve garde."

The arms are *argent on a chevron azure three leopards' heads or, tongued gules*, and the crest *a talbot*.

There appears to have been one stained-glass window which survived the general wreckage, as there is a representation of it among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum. It is of three knights, holding shields and weapons,



S. SAVIOUR'S, SOUTHWARK.
TOMB OF TREHEARNE, AND EFFIGY OF A KNIGHT.

with other heraldic shields round them. I have not found it yet, but as others have described it, it must be there in the Lansdowne MSS.

The particularly fine oak inlaid chest was the gift of Hugh Offley, and the magnificent brass branch, the gift of Dorothy Applebee. The tomb on the north side of the altar commemorates Richard Humble and his two wives. He was

an alderman, and has those well-known lines from Quarles as an epitaph, commencing "Like as the damask rose." Another similar tomb is to John Trehearne and his wife, gentleman porter to James I. Edmond Shakespear, brother to the immortal poet, was laid here to rest, December 31st, 1607, and John Fletcher and Philip Massinger, two of his friends.

It would be in vain now to seek for any remains of the monastic buildings among the lofty warehouses which hem in so closely this building on the north; but at the commencement of this century several portions still existed, and were worked up into the warehouses, while the priory gate still gave access to what was called Montacute, or Montagu close, occupying the site of the cloisters. The refectory was still standing, and covered with its ancient roof, although divided into two or three floors, and there were also considerable remains of the buildings which ran northward from the north transept, and adjoined the east walk of the cloister.

I should also mention one fact connected with these old Canons Regular of the Order of S. Austin. They have long passed away, and their former place here knows them no more; but they left their mark, reversing the old proverb: "The evil that men do lives after them." Like their brethren at S. Bartholomew's, they founded an hospital close by, and dedicated it to S. Thomas of Canterbury; so that we Londoners ought to be grateful to them and hold their memory in esteem and reverence, for had it not been for them, we should not have possessed those magnificent hospitals of S. Bartholomew and S. Thomas, although the latter has been moved from the old site, where it was founded by the Canons, and transferred to the banks of the river higher up, opposite the Houses of Parliament, where we hope for many ages to come it may carry out the pious intentions of the original founders, and be the means of mitigating suffering and of healing sickness.

The reredos, although entirely a modern reconstruction

on the old lines, was restored by Wallace in 1834. On taking down the oak altar-piece, which had been placed against it in 1703, it was found behind the wooden one, which, however, entirely concealed it; and the whole of the niches had been shorn off flat, to allow an even backing for the other to fit. It is impossible to say now how far Wallace was correct in his arrangement; probably he could not be far wrong as to the niches, for they would have remained; but the canopy work and carved strings and bases are purely conjectural. The upper frieze or cornice of angels between shields was probably copied from a similar cornice at S. Stephen's, Westminster, now destroyed; but the

From a photograph by Mr. H. Medland.

S. SAVIOUR'S, SOUTHWARK.
CHOIR AND REREDOS.

canopies, with their rather stiff and angular look, are quite Wallace's own, and cannot be the original shape, which was nearly always a semi-octagon or a semi-hexagon,

while the intermediate frieze, composed of small half-length figures of a doll-like appearance, have too crowded a look: but when the niches are filled with figures again, the result will be not at all bad; indeed, it is a matter of wonder, considering the time this restoration was made, that it is as good as it is. It is much to be hoped that these empty niches will soon be filled again.

In comparing it with the more gigantic structures at Winchester or S. Alban's, it suffers of course from its inferior size; and yet so far as proportion is concerned, and special fitness of position, it is quite as dignified as either of those, and does not make us regret the two Early English arches and the graceful triforium arcading which it covers up structionally. I know of no more beautiful form for a reredos than these magnificent wall screens; and when you compare them with those small sideboard arrangements, which have found favour in the eyes of so many of our cathedral guardians, it makes one almost wish that they had postponed the question of a reredos until happier times. I know that in many places such a wall screen as this would be impossible; but that does not condone the dwarfed and mean appearance of many of our cathedral altars; and the unfortunate side of the question is, that so many of them are of such costly material and workmanship that to remove them would be impossible, and there they will have to remain. One has only to think of Chichester, Worcester, Salisbury, Rochester, Exeter, Hereford, Carlisle, Lichfield, Lincoln and others, to illustrate a criticism which may sound rather harsh. Even Wren, at a period when all ecclesiastical propriety and knowledge were at their lowest ebb, was alive to this fact, and made all his altar-pieces respectable and dignified in size, if they were not in sentiment or design.

APPENDIX.

LIST OF DRAWINGS IN THE FAUNTLEROY PENNANT SOANE MUSEUM.

Hollar.—Two plates, considerably varying.

The first shows south elevation. Choir, with five lancets, and stone parapet.

Chapel of S. Mary Magdalene.—With four three-light windows; tracerial heads; door, second bay from east, with classic pediment.

South transept.—Window of five lights; circular wheel tracery, with tracerial heads. Stone parapet above, carried across three-light window in gable.

Tower.—Three stages above roof. First stage, blank; second, two windows blocked; third, two belfry windows. South gabled porch.

Nave.—Clerestory, three-light window; tracerial heads; embattled parapet.

Aisle.—Two-light windows; tracery.

South porch.—Very important; higher than the aisle; double door; tracerial head; elaborate arch mouldings, and arcading above. Early English screen wall at west, ending in octagonal turret; higher than aisles.—W. Hollar, 1661.

Second view differs still. South side shown more in perspective. Tracery of south window shown better. Clerestory to nave, two lights. Lancets to choir shown with tracery and two lights. Lower windows to tower still blocked. Pinnacles to tower not so lofty. Gable to Winchester House shown, and distant view of St. Paul's.

Water-colour of priory gate looks like a "Shepherd."

Washed Indian-ink drawing.—Remains of priory, unsigned.

Washed Indian-ink drawing.—Bishop's chapel, and east end from north-east.

Pencil drawings of fragments.

Washed Indian-ink drawing.—Interior S. Mary Magdalene, looking south.

Washed Indian-ink drawing.—Interior S. Mary Magdalene, looking north.

Washed Indian-ink drawing. Remains of refectory; shows roof.

Two pencil drawings.—Two bays of choir north side, and two bay. of nave south side; erroneously described. These are almost in elevations

A washed Indian-ink drawing of tower, upper part of choir, and portion of aisle and retro-choir, from north-east.

Nearly all, if not all, of the old prints from various published works.

S. BARTHOLOMEW AND HIS CULT IN MEDIÆVAL TIMES.

By ST. CLAIR BADDELEY.

The history of what may without irreverence be called the cult of S. Bartholomew takes English students back to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, even to the days of the Religious Revival interrupted in England by the Conquest, but resumed with vigour a little later by the immediate descendants of the Conqueror. And it is matter for interesting remark that the cult of this Apostle (whose symbol is the knife with which he is believed to have been flayed alive in the remote Orient), should, in a particularly savage Feudal period, have spread itself in the farthest west of the then-known world as the very evangel of mercy and medicine. But although it may take us easily back to the days of Rahere and King Henry I., it will be found to pass away behind that to King Canute and his memorable visit to Italy, and again behind that, on the wings of monkish legend, back to the days of Guthlac and Ingulph, and the founding of Croyland Abbey, at the beginning of the eighth century. Still more remarkable, it may be said without fear of correction that while the cult of this Saint has proved of well-nigh incalculable benefit to the world, concerning no one of *the twelve* have we been left in such a state of complete and hopeless ignorance,—of none of them do we know actually so little, or respecting none are we so uncertain even as to the little that we do know. To enquire into the reasons of the latter fact would be unprofitable; but the fact remains to-day that the legendary significance of the Saint is in absolute disproportion to the Gospel importance of the Apostle; and while there can be no possibility of confusing the Hagiological figure of S. Bartholomew with that

of any other, authorities still remain, and in all probability will for ever remain, uncertain whether to identify the son of Talmai with Nathaniel or not.

At the very outset of a notice of this subject, from an English point of view, one is confronted with the importance of the foundation known as S. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, consisting, as is well known, of a hospital, occupying a portion of the same ground as the present one, and a priory, built upon ground obtained by charter from Henry I. through the influence of Richard de Belesme, Bishop of London, and probably of pious Queen Matilda. This was founded in 1123, under circumstances which will presently claim attention. But important as this foundation was, and still more important as it has since become, it will be seen that this was only one fortunate incident in the development of the cult. For this was not the first dedication of a hospital in the name of S. Bartholomew in this island, and possibly it was not even the second, for the exact date of the one founded in the same reign at Oxford is not known.

In his little work (the forerunner, let us hope, of a larger one), *A Brief History of the Past and Present State of the Royal and Religious Foundation of S. Bartholomew's Hospital*, Dr. Norman Moore has enumerated (from Dugdale, *q.v.*,) eight different English hospitals under this dedication, no less than four of which occur in Kent: the first, at Chatham, founded by Bishop Gundulph towards the close of the eleventh century, and the latest, at Saltwood, near Hythe, in 1336. The others were at Dover, 1141; at Gloucester two, in 1154 and 1220 (?); and at Newbury, Berks — a truly extraordinary wave of charitable endowment under one dedication, only to be rivalled in those days by that under the patronage of S. Lazarus and S. Margaret.

I shall therefore endeavour to trace, as briefly as possible, the growth of the cult of S. Bartholomew up to this its most signal efflorescence.

Eusebius, the historian, who was Bishop of Cesarea early in the fourth century, informs us that S. Panthenius, a

physician at Alexandria, had travelled as a missionary to India, where he found many traces of Christian doctrine, and saw, moreover, a copy, in Hebrew, of the Gospel of S. Matthew, which the people there declared had been brought thither by S. Bartholomew. At the end of the next century we find an apocryphal Gospel of S. Bartholomew himself condemned in Council at Rome.[1] In the following, or sixth, century Gregory of Tours and others repeat the fact that S. Bartholomew had travelled into the East, but also mention that he had visited the country which had so unkindly treated Paul and Barnabas, namely Lycaonia, in Pisidia. He further tells us many legends concerning him: that he was martyred by Artyages, at Albanopolis, in Armenia, and that his remains were brought to the Islands of Lipari[2] from Daras, in Mesopotamia, whither they were related to have been taken by the Emperor Anastastius in A.D. 509.

These extensive transferences of the Apostolic remains from the shores of the Caspian to the Euphrates and from the Euphrates to Lipari not unnaturally caused many legends to gather about them, and this stock of legend was certainly increased to no small degree by the imagination of the writer known as the Pseudo-Abdias, of Babylon, from whose account at a later day Ordericus borrowed largely.[3] The East had ever been the land of wonders and diseases, and this Apostle had there worked his miracles and healed the people of their leprosies, casting out evil spirits. But, as will be seen, the remains of the Holy Apostle of Lycaonia were not even yet destined to attain final repose.

By this time the Eastern and Western Churches had seen fit to differ as to the date of the festival of the Saint, the former fixing it for June 11th, the latter for August 24th; while the Armenian and Ethiopic Churches differed from both, as well as from one another, and use other dates. They had also formulated a type for him: "His hair is black and curling, his skin fair, his eyes full, so to speak; his nose

[1] *Migne. Patrologia*, lix. 162. [2] *De Gloria Martyrum*, i. 33.

[3] *Ord. Vital*, B. ii., c. ix.

regular and straight, his ears covered by his long hair; his beard is long, but slightly grey; and his stature is of the middle height. He wears a white tunic without sleeves, fastened with purple clasps, over which a white mantle." In Art he usually carries a knife or sword and a book—the aforesaid Gospel of St. Matthew; and sometimes he is represented holding his skin over his arm, as in the well-known work of Agreti in Milan Cathedral.

Toward the close of the seventh century, in days when more than one Anglo-Saxon monarch had resigned his crown and undertaken the pilgrimage to Rome, we find S. Bartholomew brought into prominence in England as the especial patron of S. Guthlac, the hermit of Croyland. We read in Ordericus that Guthlac went to settle in the swampy locality he had selected for his abode on the eighth day before the kalends of September, that is August 24th—the day of S. Bartholomew, "to whom he prayed to be his friend and defender in all his adversities." His desires would seem to have been granted; for "once, when he was beginning to despair of completing a work upon which he had laboured for three days, his faithful patron appeared to him visibly during his morning watch, and, allaying his fears with spiritual comfort, promised him his continual help. And he faithfully fulfilled the promise on various occasions in which he was tempted." On another occasion, during a night watch, a troop of demons invaded his cell, bound the hermit hand and foot, and dragged him through the marshes of Granta, commanding him to give up his hermitage. Upon his refusal, they scourged him and tore his flesh, and then transported him to the very mouth of Hell. "On seeing the gates of Hell, Guthlac began to be frightened, but, despising the demons' threats, he prayed inwardly to God. Instantly S. Bartholomew stood by him, arrayed in robes of celestial light, and ordered his foes to carry him back unharmed to his own cell. The demons, groaning, obeyed the Apostle, and angels met him singing." Nor were these the last appearances of the holy Apostle at Croyland; for, in 1112, he

appeared to Abbot Geoffrey, together with Guthlac, again clad in robes of shining white, at the tomb of Earl Waltheof, and reunited the head of that recently-decapitated noble to his body. This was in the reign of Henry I., and some eight years only before the founding of the S. Bartholomew's, Smithfield.

S. Guthlac, however, had been dead about a century when an event occurred connected with the remains of his patron saint which caused no little stir in the Christian world. The growing power of the Saracens began to culminate in the early years of the ninth century to very serious crises, at least as regarded Italy. In A.D. 830 (some writers say 831), attacking Lipari, they desecrated the resting-place of S. Bartholomew and hurled his coffin (which, we are told, was of lead) into the sea. To the astonishment of a Greek monk (who perhaps witnessed the occurrence from a hiding-place), the coffin floated, and when opportunity favoured he drew it ashore, and therein he beheld the remains of the holy Apostle, which he at once recognised by *the luminosity* of the bones. The monk carried his precious burden to Benevento, then ruled by Lombard dukes, where it was enshrined, in 839, by Duke Sicardo.[1] This event is significantly referred to in the contemporary metrical martyrology of Wandelbert, the Anglo-Saxon [A.D. 842 (?)] :

> "Bartholomæus nonam exornat retinetque beatus,
> India quo doctore Dei cognovit honorem,
> Herculis et Bacchi insanis vix eruta sacris;
> Nunc illum fama est varia pro sorte sepulchri,
> Æolium Lipare Beneventi et templa tenere," &c.

It is probably to this event his festival owed the pressing importance which it now assumed and which it has more than maintained ever since; although, as will be shown, further occurrences were to arouse a still more universal interest to the saintly remains.

Howbeit, until the ominously-regarded year A.D. 1000, the Beneventani venerated the unchallenged relics of the Apostle.

[1] Cf. *Leo Ostiens*, Lib. i., c. 24.

In that year, however, took place an event which proved productive of plentiful dispute. The energetic Emperor Otho III., regarding the recently-martyred S. Adalbert, the Apostle of Prussia, as his especial patron, left Rome, where he had been protecting Pope Silvester II., in order to fulfil a vow and visit the tomb of his patron. Before quitting the Eternal City, he had secured the site of the ancient Temple of Æsculapius, at the western extremity of the island in the Tiber, in order to erect there a sumptuous shrine in honour of S. Adalbert. Attended by several patrician Romans, including a Cardinal or two, he attended the Easter Festival at Regensburg, and thence passed to Gnesen, where he prayed at the martyr's tomb. Wherever he went (and he travelled thence to Agram), he collected relics of various saints, in order to enrich therewith the basilica he was now building.

The eleventh century had therefore commenced, and the world had, after all, not come to its predicted end. The peoples took hope afresh, and the reaction of their feelings soon became manifested in architectural as well as literary energy. Otho brought back to Rome an arm of S. Adalbert, which was duly enshrined at the consecration of the Church by the Bishop of Porto. He then demanded from the Beneventani, probably on account of a vision, the venerated remains of S. Bartholomew. They, however, while pretending to comply, deceived him, and forwarded instead the bones of S. Paulinus of Nola. According to Gregorovius, being afterwards made aware of the deception, the Emperor intended to punish the offenders. Nevertheless, he died early in 1002 without having done so. The Romans, however, proud to possess the remains of another Apostle, gave little heed to the denials of the people of Benevento. A further reason may be assigned for this, in the fact that the Bohemian martyr S. Adalbert was altogether a stranger to them, albeit he had once been a Benedictine of Monte-Cassino. His memory suffered neglect merely through his having been neither a Roman nor "one of the Twelve."

Nevertheless, the Basilica on the island continued for a full century to bear the name of S. Adalbert in Lycaonia, for the "Insula Tiberina" continued for three centuries more to carry the name it had derived from the ruins of the Temple of Jupiter Lycaonius.[1] And here it becomes necessary to mention that the site of this temple, within a hundred yards of that of Æsculapius or S. Adalbert, had been already at the time of Otho occupied since A.D. 795, by a convent dedicated to the Virgin, as S. Maria in Julia, and a small church of SS. Giovanni Baptista[2] et Evangelista. This church was administered by an arch-presbyter and several canons (Augustinian ?). So that the island, consecrated especially to Æsculapius and Jupiter, had now two churches and a convent chapel upon it, the successors of which continue, though under other dedications, to this day. But, so far as is known, there was no hospital attached to any of these. The circumstances attending the hospital now flourishing there, and attached, not to S. Bartolomeo, but to S. Giovanni, will be presently related.

The first surviving historical mention of the church which Otho had built dates from 1027, and it is practically certain that our monk-loving warrior-king Cnut in the same year was present with the Emperor Conrad at the latter's coronation in tumultuous Rome, at Eastertide, to whose son Cnut's daughter Cunigunda then became affianced. On his way home to England Cnut purchased an arm of S. Augustine for "centum talentis Argenti et talento auri," which he sent to Coventry. It was, alas, a period abounding in "pious frauds," and the historians of the Church regretfully denounce the sale of false relics, upon the profits of which, nevertheless, institutions of the most substantial kind, monasteries, churches, &c., were founded and endowed.[3] It is, moreover,

[1] Was it by chance in Otho's mind, while commanding the Beneventani to deliver up to him the bones of the Apostle, that the Isola Lycaonia was the only befitting resting-place for the Apostle of Lycaonia ? It is difficult to believe there was merely a coincidence here.

[2] Cf. *Anastasius Bibliothecarius, in Vita Leone*, III.

[3] Cf. *Otto, Frising*, lib. 6, c. 22 ; *Raynaldus : ad. ann.* 1027.

befitting to mention that Eadmer,[1] who lived later in the same century, relates that Cnut was visited in England by a Bishop of Benevento, who desired to sell an arm of S. Bartholomew to him, in order to assist the afflicted people of his diocese by the sale thereof. He declares that Queen Emma and her husband caused the Bishop to swear to the genuineness of the relic upon the altar at Canterbury; that this being done, they purchased it and presented it to the monks of Canterbury; and that Ethelnoth, the Archbishop of Canterbury, presented the Bishop, Alfanius III., with a magnificent cope, "cappam valde pretiosam aurifrigio ornatam." It is necessary, however, to add that Francesco Dini (in his *Dissertatio Historico-Critica de translatione, &c., Corporis. S. Bartholomei Apost.* Romæ. 1700), who knew his author well, writes "Hujus narratio suspectissima habetur."[2] Alphanius, at any rate, does not occur among the Bishops of Benevento, and Canterbury holds no remembrance, I believe, even in tradition, of the relic. Eadmer, in fact, is a writer from hearsay, an agreeable gossip, at a time when these relic-stories and relic-frauds were particularly abundant. But of this incident more presently.

An author of Eadmer's time records in a hexametric canticle[3]—

"India decoriat, tenet Insula Bartholomæum.

showing that the desire to believe in this precious relic had not suffered by rumours of fraud, at least as far as the Romans were concerned. But we have by no means done with the "arms" of S. Bartholomew yet. For it seemed to me worth while tracing the remains of the Saint thus so much disputed. In the year 1043, I find that an arm was brought to Venice from Benevento by some ecclesiastic (was it that Bishop described by Eadmer ?), and being purchased, it was placed in the Church of S. Demetrio as a most holy relic: in

[1] *Hist. Novorum in Anglia Vita S. Anselmi.*

[2] Cf. Gabriele Gerberonio. *Parisiis cum Operibus. S. Anselmi*, pp. 42, 43.

[3] *Fascic. Memor. in Archivio Vallicellanæ*, sig. n. 21.

consequence of which that church changed its name in 1071 to S. Bartolommeo. The name of S. Bartholomew, it may be assumed, was now nearly at the height of its popularity. We see King Roger, in 1088, founding a Cathedral and Hospital in Sicily, and on the same island (as the Sovereign, doubtless, of Lipari), in 1094, another Abbey Church and Hospital, at Patti. As the remains of the Holy Apostle had become somewhat numerous, it need not be doubted that the Norman Kings of Sicily themselves became possessors of some relic or other for these foundations of S. Bartholomew; but so far I have been unable to discover the nature of these. It need only further be stated at this point that Rome, besides the entire body of the Saint, which is contained in a beautiful porphyry sarcophagus [a bath belonging to Imperial times], possesses an entire arm of his in the Basilica of S. Paulo fuori le Mura, and yet another in the Church of Sant' Apostoli. But although the thumb of one of these should be missing, as it is still in the Cathedral at Lipari, the sacristan assures me that it is "all there."

One other object in Rome of great archæological interest in this connection remains to be noticed in passing. It is the circular well-mouth to be seen in the Church of S. Bartolommeo. This is a remnant of Otho's Church of S. Adalbert, and undoubtedly belongs to the eleventh century. Its lip shows the deep ruts of the ropes wherewith the faithful on the island once drew up their supplies. Around it was an inscription, now mutilated, ending with the words—"Qui sitit ad fontem veniat!" There are sculptured in relief around it four figures: that of S. Salvator; the second, mitred and coped, S. Paulinus of Nola, or S. Adalbert; the third is S. Bartholomeo, with a long beard and bared sword, carrying a book; and the fourth, crowned and sceptred, with Chlamys, is believed to be Otho III., with the legend, "Os putei Sancti circumdant orbe rotanti."

It was not to be expected that the glory of an actual Disciple should remain obscured by the shadow of a martyred Bishop of Prague, whatosever might have been the acknow-

ledged merits of the latter. The church, which bore the name of Adalbert, now gradually became known as that of S. Bartholomew, and early in the next, or twelfth, century Gelasius II. (1119) in restoring the church, which had suffered by a flood, is said to have rechristened it S. Bartholomew. I am of opinion, however, that the renaming took place later. His restorations were probably begun by his energetic predecessor, Paschal II., who had taken refuge from his enemies in that Church a few years previously (A.D. 1105), and had placed on the architrave of the main entrance the following somewhat artful inscription, which can be read there to this day:

> "Tertius istorum Rex transtulit Otho Piorum
> Corpora quis Domus hæc sic redimita viget,
> Quæ domus ista gerit, si pignora noscere quæris,
> Corpora Paulini sint credas Bartholomæi."

Did the great Paschal feel it necessary to be diplomatic, and forbear to hurt the susceptibilities of Benevento? He does not mention S. Adalbert in his inscription; and he had himself held an important Synod at Benevento before he wrote thus.

Possibly during the very first year of Paschal's long pontificate (1099), or perhaps even a few years earlier, the re-accumulated wave, as we may call it, of the cult of S. Bartholomew had marked its presence in England by the before-referred-to foundation by Bishop Gundulph, at Chatham, of a hospital bearing the Saint's name,—the first of many to be,—as well as by the far more frequent occurrence of Bartholomew as a Christian name.

At this time our truly religious Queen Matilda was engaged in founding the Hospital of S. Giles-in-the-Fields and many other deeds of mercy. The relations between the Norman Kings of Sicily and their relatives of England were probably closer than one is apt to picture them. The late Mr. Freeman, of course, was not forgetful of the resemblances of the two Norman island Kings,[1] Roger and Henry I.

[1] Cf. *William Rufus*, vol. ii. 454.

Besides, Anselm, during the previous reign, had visited the Apulian Normans, and spent considerable sojourn with them. The before-mentioned Eadmer Anglicus, in his life of Anselm, tells us many particulars both about the Normans, and regarding Anselm's life while living in their camp. For Eadmer had himself accompanied his revered master, and it was while at Bari with him that his eyes lighted on the beautiful cope worn by the Bishop of Benevento. "Eadmer knew at once whence it came. He knew that it had once been one of the glories of Canterbury, worn by Primates of England before England had bowed either to the Norman or to the Dane. Eadmer, brought up from his childhood in the cloister of Christchurch, had been taught as a boy by aged monks who could remember the days of Cnut and Emma. These elders of the House, Eadwig and Blæcman, and Farman, had told him how in those days there had been a mighty famine in the land of Apulia [1]; how the then Archbishop of Beneventum had travelled through foreign lands to seek help for his starving flock; how he brought with him a precious relic, the arm of the Apostle Bartholomew; and how, having passed through Italy and Gaul, he was led to cross the sea by the fame of the wealth of England, and of the piety and beauty of Emma, its Lady. She gave him plenteous gifts for his people, and he asked whether she would not give yet more as the price of the precious relic. The genuineness of the relic" [evidently, and no wonder, suspected] "was solemnly sworn to, a great price was paid for it by the Lady, and, by the special order of King Cnut, it was added as a precious gift to the treasures of the Metropolitan Church. . . . The Archbishop of Beneventum went back, loaded with the alms of England, and bearing with him (among other gifts of his brother Primate Æthelnoth) this very cope, richly embroidered with gold with all the skill of English hands. Eadmer now saw it with joy; he pointed it out to Father Anselm, and, feigning ignorance, he asked the Beneventan Archbishop the history

[1] Beneventan history is, however, absolutely silent regarding this.

of the splendid cope which he wore. He was pleased to find that the tradition of Beneventum was the same as the tradition of Canterbury."[1]

It must be confessed the story is a very charming one, even in the light of the preceding evidences regarding the relic; so we will say no more about it, but proceed to relate that at this time—namely, in A.D. 1107—appears the first English Cardinal, by name Ulfric, a prelate who, we may be sure, was familiar to the Court of England, and may well have been a friend of Anselm, and quite possibly of Rahere. Somewhere about the year 1118–20 this Rahere, a secular Canon of St. Paul's, made his pilgrimage to Rome. I believe that Dr. Norman Moore was the very first to point out this connection of the Founder of the Hospital and Priory at Smithfield with the Cathedral,[2] and I gladly admit this, although his claim to have been the first to use Eadmer's narrative is not quite so admissible, as I have shown it to have been used by Francesco Dini as far back as in 1700.

From the *Liber Fundacionis* we learn that Rahere, during his sojourn at Rome, took fever while visiting the site of S. Paul's execution, a spot still malarious in spite of the abundant plantation of eucalyptus-trees. Whether he was nursed by the Benedictines then cloistered there, or, as is more likely, in the English Hospital of S. Spirito in Saxia, close to S. Peter's, whither English pilgrims had been wont to resort since the days of its foundation by Offa and its enrichment and reconstruction by later English sovereigns, it is not possible for me to determine. To it were attached a set of Canons Regular of a military Order, who, by the decree of the Lateran Council of 1139, together with all other Canons Regular, had thenceforth to take the denomination of S. Augustine. It is certain that Rahere, after his visit to Rome, became a Canon Regular of S. Augustine, but in which year of his life (which ended in 1143) is not known.

Anyhow, at the time of his illness in Rome the Basilica

[1] Freeman, vol. i. 609, 610. *W. Rufus.*

[2] Cf. his Edition, 1886, of *Liber Fundacionis MS. Vespasian*, B. 1*a*. B.M.; composed, he thinks, between 1174—1189.

of S. Adalbert, presently re-christened (1170?) S. Bartolommeo in Lycaonia (or "in Insula," or "inter duos pontes), was completing, or had just completed, its restoration, and had become one of the especially interesting points of pilgrimage. Morever, the Apostle, who had appeared to the Hermit of Croyland and others so many centuries before, now vouchsafed to appear to Rahere, and caused him to vow that, in the event of his recovery and safe return to London, he would there found a priory and hospital to his patron-saint.

"Rahere founded the hospital," says Dr. Norman Moore, "in 1123, on land which he obtained from King Henry I. through the influence of Richard de Belesme, Bishop of London; and before his death the site was further enlarged by grants of adjacent land by Michael de Valecius in the year of the foundation, and by John Becomte, William FitzSabelline (Savelli?), and Hersænt, wife of Walter de St. Loy, in 1139. He died September 20th, 1143,"—having been the first Prior.

It would have been pleasant to have found (as I had at one time hoped to find) that Rahere might have been treated for his malady on the Tiber-island itself; but a careful research among documents relating to the spot precludes this finding. The only other ecclesiastical reference to the island I have found pertaining to the time of Rahere belongs to the year of his death, when a certain Bobo (Joannis Paulus) gave a garden to Domino Benedicto, Presbyter of the Church before mentioned, of S. Maria in Julia (now S. Giovanni Calibita). But there was no hospital on the island connected with either of its churches until 1581, when the Spanish Benedictine Order of Fate-bene-fratelli, who had recently set up their establishment in the Piazza di Pietra, obtained from Gregory XIII. the more spacious convent and church vacated in 1575 by the nuns of S. Maria in Julia, and erected the hospital, church, and convent which we now see there.[1] The

[1] Urban VI. in 1381 had suppressed the Canons of S. Giovanni in Lycaonia, and conferred their possessions there upon the Abbatial Convent of S. Maria in Julia. The nuns of the latter now migrated to unite with S. Anna in the Via Giulia.

convent attached to S. Bartolommeo has long been served by friars of the Order of Francis. To the Basilica had been attached a Cardinalate in 1511. In the twelfth century it had only a Presbyter and Canons.

Space and purpose, equally, forbid that I should follow down here the history of the church and island of S. Bartolommeo in Rome. I will, in parting with them, mention that in the *Appendix ad. Chron. Sigeberti. ad. annum 1157* is recorded a serious inundation; after which, nevertheless, the writer declares that the body of S. Bartholomew was found entire excepting his skin—"quod remansit Benevento," &c. This, of course, was fifteen years after Rahere's death.[1]

"The original London Hospital founded by Rahere," Dr. Moore writes [p. 19, *Brief Relation*, &c.], "had eight brethren and four sisters, and they elected a Head, who was called Master, or Proctor, or Warden." On election he had to be instituted by the Prior or the Bishop of London. On Palm Sunday and on the Festival of S. Bartholomew the Master and brethren were wont to make a solemn procession to the Priory and deposit an offering on the high altar. Two citizens of the highest eminence became benefactors of the hospital—namely, FitzElwin, first Lord Mayor, and S. Thomas à Becket.[2]

Meanwhile, in the year 1141 had been founded a hospital at Dover bearing the same dedicatory title; while a few years later, during the reign of Henry II., there was founded, curiously also, "inter duos pontes" at Gloucester, a small priory hospital of S. Bartholomew, it is believed by William Myparty, a pious burgess of that city, who built it for a certain Walred and his workmen, who were then engaged in rebuilding the westernmost city bridge. Myparty and his

[1] In March, 1179, Alexander III., after holding a Synod in the Lateran, proceeded to S. Bartolommeo, celebrated Mass before the "Remains," re-consecrated the church, and granted especial Indulgences. In 1191 Celestine III. placed the remains in the "Conca Porphyrea, et confirmavit omnes indulgentias positas per summos Pontifices."

[2] Becket also had visited Rome, and it was at S. Spirito-in-Saxia he sojourned while there.

friends, male and female, afterwards retired thither as a religious community, were governed by a presbyter, and they wore a monastic habit.[1] They appear to have been considerably enriched by King Henry III., who, it is said, in 1228, while visiting Gloucester, presented the hospital, at the request of his Queen, with the Church of S. Nicholas, and later on he granted them the right of choosing a prior, the first of whom was Adam de Garne.[2] The custody of the bridges would seem to have belonged to the Church of S. Nicholas: hence, perhaps, the desire of the Prior of S. Bartholomew's to be freed from the possibility of conflict with that church.[3] We may conjecture that the new owners of S. Nicholas were well-to-do folk, for soon after this the church was rebuilt. Mr. M. H. Medland, in vol. iii., *Records of Gloucester Cathedral*, a critical and careful writer, says: "The Norman Church (with the exception of such portions as still exist) was evidently taken down during the reign of Henry III. (from 1230—1250) when the nave arcades, the chancel, and the south aisle were built. S. Bartholomew's Hospital was very similar (judging by Lysons' etching made in 1794) to the south aisle of S. Nicholas Church, which was built during the reign of Henry III. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it would appear that such portions of the church as were built in the thirteenth century, as well as S. Bartholomew's Hospital, were built at the instigation of Queen Eleanor, and that the church was made to serve as a chapel to the hospital." It may be worthy of note here that Henry III. had an illegitimate brother, Fra Bartolommeo, who was Papal Chaplain at Assisi in 1253. He belonged to the Order of S. Dominic. But I must also venture to point out that if King Henry III. presented the hospital with the Church of S. Nicholas in 1228 at the prompting of his Queen,

[1] Cf. Rudder's *Gloucester*, pp. 447–9.

[2] Respecting its chantry, Cf. *Hist. et Cartul. Monasterii Gloucestriæ*, vol. i., clvi., A.D. 1232.

[3] Cf. *id.* ccxcvii. and ccxcviii., A.D. 1220.

Fosbrooke's authority, Furney MSS.,[1] was scarcely correct in naming Eleanor [of Provence] as that Queen, since her marriage with Henry did not take place till eight years later, in 1236. The King, in fact, was but nineteen years of age in 1228, and was *unmarried*. Gregory IX., rather than XI., should have been the Pope referred to. Possibly the transaction was carried through by Walter de Cantelupe, Bishop of Dorchester, after 1238?

By this date I find that there was a Priory of S. Bartholomew flourishing in the city of Bologna, near the gate of Ravenna. At a later date—namely, in the sixteenth century,—and in the same city, there was yet another, together with a hospital, called S. Bartolommeo in Reno. There was also one at Sandwich, in Kent, founded in 1190 by Thomas Crompton, and Maud, his wife. And at the same time there was also firmly established at Trisulti, near Frosinone, among the bold Hernican mountains, that beautiful Carthusian monastery of S. Bartolommeo, under the shade of whose cloisters many of these words are penned, and on the plinths of whose columns one sees at every turn the 'knife' symbolising him of whom we saw it was written rather more confidently than critically—

"India, decoriat tenet Insula Bartholomæum."

Truly the growth of a religious cult affords some food for curious reflection!

[1] *Hist. Glouc.*, p. 360.

BREWERS' HALL.

By E. H. MARTINEAU, F.R.I.B.A.

Addle Street, from which this Hall is approached, is evidently of great antiquity. According to Mr. Augustus Hare, who has a short notice of it in his *Walks in London*, the name is derived from the Saxon word *adel*, which means noble—the street of the nobles. What it may have been like before the Fire of London in 1666 we have no account of, nor pictorial illustrations that I am aware of; nor can I find among the records of the Brewers' Company any description of their Hall as it was previous to the Fire. We only know it was destroyed on that occasion, and that the present building was erected in 1670 from the designs of Mr. Whiting, the then Surveyor to the Company, at a cost of something under £6,000, a certain Captain Cain being the contractor.

I believe the Brewers' Company never was a rich one, and it appears from the minutes of the Court meetings of the time that they had to sell their plate to raise part of the money for rebuilding.

COURTYARD.

Anyone passing along the street and peeping through the gateway cannot but be struck by the quaint appearance of the courtyard and the façade of the Hall. I don't know anything at all like it elsewhere, either in England or abroad. The gateway in the street, with its flanking Corinthian columns and entablature over, finished at top by a curved pediment, is in good proportions, and the carving of the shield with coat of arms of the Company, and swags of flowers and fruit depending from same, is a good specimen

of the carving of that period. The whole being constructed in wood, it is wonderful how it has lasted.

The lower portion of the façade of the Hall towards the courtyard has rusticated Portland stone piers, and attached stone columns of the Roman Doric order in the middle of each. Stone elliptic arches spring from the tops of the capitals, the spandrils between being of brick. At the level of the caps there are horizontal oak beams, which bear on the stone piers across each opening and are moulded, being also carved in the middle with scrolls, between which, in each bay, there is a lion's head. The spaces between top of beams and the stone archivolts are filled in and covered with stucco ornamental shields, surrounded by scrolls and swag work. The upper part of the building is of red brick, with two tiers of windows, the lower ones rectangular in form and those above oval; all having stone dressings. The brick parapet above the small stone top cornice, or rather moulded string, is evidently of a later date, as the bricks are thicker. I have no doubt there was originally an open stone balustrading at the top, and that when this fell into decay the Master and Wardens of the time, probably with a view to economy, renewed it by substituting a plain brick parapet.

As originally designed, too, the spaces between the stone piers were all open to the courtyard, so that the ground floor under the hall was a sort of cloister to walk about in, from which, at the east end, access could be got to the upper storey by the old wooden balustraded stairs that start from near the kitchen door. The old kitchen is on the north side, under the Court Room. It has a large fireplace, some old tables, and a chopping block. There is also a cast lead cistern, with the Brewers' Company arms and date of 1671.

HALL.

The Hall itself, in which the Society is now holding its meeting, is directly approached from the courtyard by a flight of stone steps, flanked on the outer side by stone balustrading, and is entered at the east end through the

Corinthian columned and panelled oak screen. I have no doubt the original ceiling was divided into panelled compartments with plaster enrichments, or had moulded timbers exposed, as is found to be the case in the halls of other City Companies of the same period; but that when at some later time the roof was renewed (perhaps when the supposed external stone balustraded parapet to which I have alluded was done away with), the same motive for economy led to the ceiling being made the wretched flat one now seen.

The oak screen and panelled wainscoting round the walls was put up in 1673, a Mr. Woodroffe having executed the carving. The Court passed a resolution, that "the Coates of Armes of 12 good Benefactors towards building the Hall be carved in the 12 shields." The ones referred to are those in the curved pediments, six on each of the side walls, with the names in gilt letters under. They also directed that "the present Master and Wardens' Armes be fixed over entrance to Court Parlour." Above this doorway is a carved shield of the Royal Arms, Charles II. On the top of the screen, at the east end, are the arms of the Brewers' Company, which are: Gules on a chevron engrailed argent, three kilderkins sable, hooped or, between three pairs of barley sheaves in saltire of the same. Crest: A demi Moorish woman in her proper colour, vested azure,

THE ARMS OF THE BREWERS' COMPANY.

fretted argent, her hair dishevelled or, holding in either hand three barley ears of the same. Motto: "In God is all our trust." The carved figures on the top of the wainscoting at west end—two river gods; two female figures, one reclining against a lion and the other against a bird; and two sea horses—belonged to the Brewers' Company's barge, and I believe were placed in the positions they now are when the barge ceased to be used on the river. In the angles of the Hall at same end are the two banners belonging to the barge, which have also been preserved.

Another object of interest is a beautifully embroidered coffin pall, used on the occasion of funerals of members of the Court. I should put it down as work of the early part of the sixteenth century. The coats of arms worked and repeated on it are those of the Brewers' Company impaled with the arms of the Founder (dexter), said to be Thomas à Becket. The stained-glass window at west end of Hall is a modern one (1884); it replaced one which bore the date 1774, destroyed in the Wood Street fire in 1883, which fire, if it had not been for a sudden change in the wind, would most certainly have entirely burnt Brewers' Hall to the ground. The carved Master's chair under this window is of the date 1720. The pictures hung in the Hall are: Portrait of Richard Platt, 1600, who founded school and almshouses at Aldenham, Herts; Dame Alice Owen, 1613, who also founded school and almshouses at Islington; Alderman James Hickson; Charles I.; Charles II.; Samuel Whitbread, 1720–1769, by Sir Joshua Reynolds; John Baker, 1737–1808; and Harry Charrington, 1813.

The Court Room, which opens out of this Hall, is also lined with panelled oak. There is an inscription over the chimney-piece on a carved shield as follows: "The Right Worth. Sr. Samuel Starling Knight and Alderman of London, a worthy member of the Brewers' Company did wainscott this Parlour in the yeare 1670. The said Sr. Samuel Starling being then Lord Mair of the cittie of London." Over the cornice of the doorway is a shield, on which the

CHIMNEY-PIECE IN COURT ROOM. *W. Wonnacott, Photo.*

arms of Sir Samuel Starling are carved—arg. on a bend az., three square buckles or. In the window at the east end there are stained-glass squares, executed in 1673, with coats of arms, viz.: "The Royal Arms," "The Founders' Arms" (Thomas à Becket), "The City Arms," and "The Brewers' Company Arms." Hanging up around the walls are framed the Charter of Henry VI. and two grants of arms of Edward IV. and Henry VIII. respectively. There is also in this room a very beautiful oak table, date about 1660.

On the table in Court Room will be found the only pieces of old plate, I believe, the Company possess—a knife and fork of Queen Anne's time, kept in the original case covered with skin; and one of the badges worn by the barge watermen, which has been set in the lid of a snuff-box. There are also placed on the table a few relics, which I discovered when the foundations were dug out in 1876 for the buildings erected on the south side of the courtyard facing Addle Street, with which front was incorporated the old gateway entrance of 1671.

THE CRYPT OF THE PRIORY CHURCH OF ST. JOHN AT CLERKENWELL.

By CHAS. R. BAKER KING.

The Knights of the Order of St. John are said to have settled at Clerkenwell about the year 1100. As the earliest portion of the present chapel, now forming the crypt, was erected at the end of the 11th century, the Knights, if they did not themselves build it, must have acquired it very shortly after its erection.

The plan of the chapel at present consists of a nave of five bays, with side aisles or chapels to the eastern part; that on the north side of one bay only, and that on the south of three bays. There are chambers of minor importance on the north side, westward of the aisle.

The original plan consisted of a nave of three bays, with perhaps a semi-circular apse projecting from its eastern wall. The entrance was by a doorway in the western wall. In each bay of the side walls was a narrow window with wide splays, placed somewhat high above the floor. The whole chapel was vaulted with stone. The outer roof was probably of the usual Norman pitch, making an angle about 90 degrees at the apex, the level of the eaves being a little above that of the top of the groining.

At a period not much later than that of the first erection, a chamber was added on the north side. This addition seems to have covered at least two of the windows on the north side. How far the chamber extended westward cannot be determined, owing to alterations having been made in the 18th century.

In the latter part of the 12th century, about the year 1180, during what is called the "Transitional" period of

English mediæval architecture, the erection of a grand priory church having been determined on, the original chapel, with the extension then made to the eastward, became a crypt under the choir of the new church. This church, as we know by documentary evidence, was consecrated by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Heraclius, in the year 1185.

This great scheme led to the removal of the eastern wall of the Norman chapel, and the lengthening of its nave eastward by two bays, with side chapels at the eastern end, as we now see them. The eastern bay only of the side chapels opens directly into the nave.

It will be noticed that the first or western bay of this extension of the nave has no window on either side, the walls here not having been external. The roughly shaped opening between the nave and the south chapel is modern.

The space on the north side of the nave, westward of the side chapel, formed a chamber of similar character to that of the older chamber on which it abutted. The access was by a doorway in the western wall of the north chapel. This doorway was widened to the northward in very early times.

The eastern wall of the present crypt marks the line of the eastern end of the priory church. The crypt and present church represent the length of the choir, the destroyed nave having extended some distance westward. In the upper church the bases of the responds or half pillars against the eastern wall, of the same date as the crypt, are preserved under the floor, and can be examined.

When originally built the chapel was mainly above the ground level, though there may have been a descent of a few steps into the building.

The interior of the western or Norman portion of the chapel has a stone bench or seat next each side wall, on which stand the projecting stone pilasters, from which the vaulting arches and ribs spring. The abacus moulding of the piers continues as a string along the intermediate spaces of the wall. The pilasters support plain transverse arches

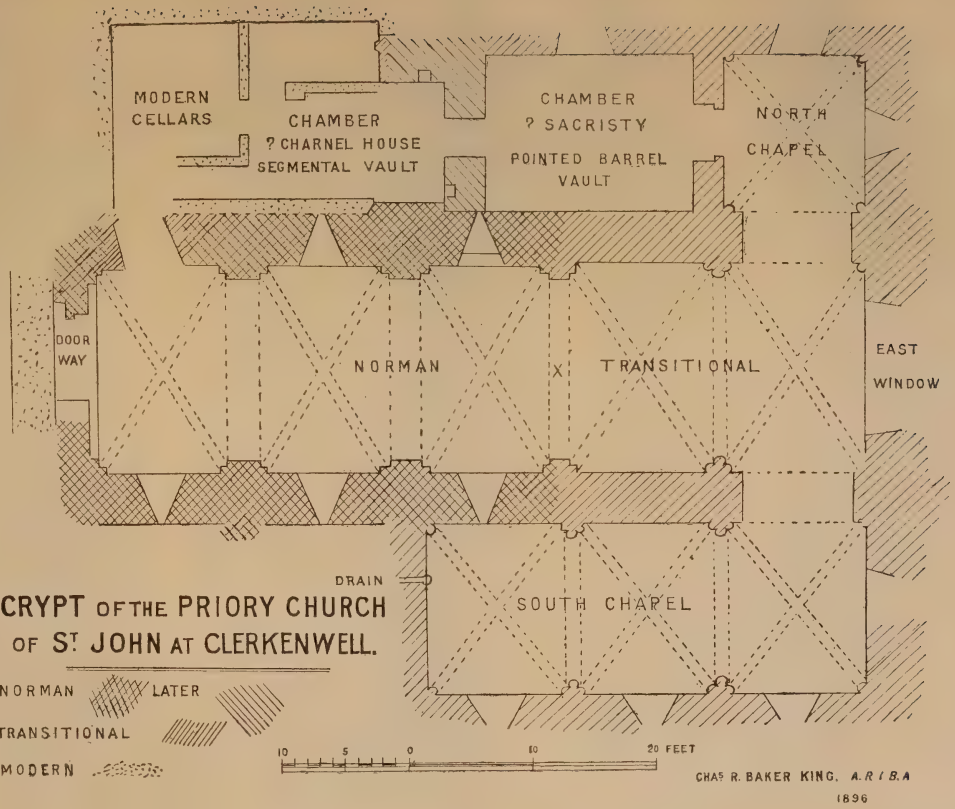
of semi-circular form which divide the groining into bays. Each bay has moulded diagonal ribs, but there are no walls ribs. The intermediate spaces of the vaulting are constructed of rubble stone, plastered over. A thin coating of plaster was also applied to the sides of the vaulting ribs, and to the sides and soffits of the cross arches, the edges of the plaster being cut to scalloped and chevron forms. There are traces of ancient colouring on the stonework, finishing to the outline of the ornamental edges of the plaster. The windows retain their original iron bars.

The eastern or Transitional portion of the chapel has the divisions of the bays marked by groups of shafts, instead of by plain pilaster projections as in the Norman part. The groups consist of a bowtel, or pointed shaft in the middle, flanked by a small circular shaft on each side; they have good moulded bases. The capitals have square moulded abaci, the bells being plain curves easing off from the circular to the square form.

The junction of the Norman with the Transitional work is clearly seen in the pilasters, the jointing of the stonework and the moulding of the string varying in the work of the two dates. The pilasters at the junction are narrower than the intermediate pilasters, the original width of these angle features having no doubt been the same as those next the western wall.

In the year 1894, when the floor was being concreted under the order of the Home Secretary, search was made for the foundations of the original Norman eastern end of the chapel; but unfortunately no traces of them could be met with. A portion of the raised floor of the sanctuary of the extended chapel was discovered, which has been reproduced in the present concrete paving. A few paving tiles and pieces of inserted stonework were found next the bases of the piers on the western side of the arches opening into the side chapels; these remain as they were found.

The exterior of the eastern-most window in the south wall of the Norman nave shows in the south chapel, but has



CRYPT OF THE PRIORY CHURCH OF ST JOHN AT CLERKENWELL.

been shortened, and its head altered to a horizontal form to keep it within the line of the groining of the side chapel.

The vaulting of the Transitional part of the building is richer than that of the earlier portion. All the arches are pointed, and are moulded or chamfered, and the vaulting ribs are richly moulded. The ornamental plastering is not found on the later work, this being peculiar to the work of the Norman period. The straight edges of the plastering of the later date are still perfect in many places, after the lapse of seven centuries.

The vaulting of the eastern half of the east bay of the nave of the chapel rises above the general level. This was designed to allow of the east window having greater height.

The inner splays of the east window remain, but the group of lancets which formerly existed has been removed in modern times to form access to the chapel at this end.

The inner splays only remain to the windows in the side chapels. Those of the north window of the north chapel both incline eastwards, as though some building on the outside obliged the placing of the actual opening eastward of its natural position. A corbel for a figure or light occurs in the east wall of the south chapel; but this is an insertion of later date.

The western end of the south chapel has no window; but in the lower part of the wall are the remains of a projecting bowl or stoup, having a channelled stone as a drain through the wall westward.

The earlier chamber to the north of the nave has a plain segmental barrel vault without ribs, constructed of rubble stonework. A small window was formed in the upper part of the eastern wall, which was originally external. A modern opening has been cut in this wall below the window to connect this chamber with the later chamber beyond. If the earlier chamber extended as far as the western end of the nave of the chapel, its entrance might have been from the north side of the western bay, where there is now a doorway of later date. There are remains of a doorway in the north

wall of the chamber belonging to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, but this may replace a doorway of earlier date.

In the east wall, near the south-east angle of the chamber, is a recess like an aumbry rebated for a door, although no door seems to have been fitted to it. In the north wall, near the north-east angle, is a similar recess.

From the plain character of the chamber, its purpose cannot have been an important one, and it has been suggested that it may have been intended for a charnel house.

The interior of the adjoining chamber, of Transitional date, is treated very simply. It has around its walls a string course corresponding with that of the aisle from which it was entered, and is covered with a rubble barrel vault of pointed form. There was a window in the north wall, its inner arch intersecting with the vault of the chamber. This apartment may have served as a sacristy.

It would be interesting to know how the crypt was entered after the construction of the upper church; but, without having the opportunity of removing some of the modern walling, it is impossible to speak with any degree of certainty on the point.

The original entrance in the western wall was no doubt central; but there are irregularities in the masonry of the northern jamb of the doorway which may indicate an alteration in the position of the entrance.

A doorway with a segmental head, apparently of "Transitional" or "Early English" date, was inserted in the northern wall of the western bay of the nave, the original window being removed. This doorway may have been substituted for the western entrance, a flight of steps being formed in the north aisle of the choir.

The building has undergone but little change since mediæval times, excepting at the western end. The original groining of the western bay has been removed, and a common brick vault, like that of an ordinary cellar, substituted. Several stones of the original vaulting remain in each angle.

The quoins of the south window of this bay remain, though the recess is now walled up.

The ancient work to the north of the western bay has been destroyed, or is so much concealed by modern brickwork that the original arrangement of the staircase and of the western end of the charnel-house cannot be ascertained.

Of the design of the exterior of the chapel little is known. When the church was being refloored and reseated a small amount of earth was removed forming a cavity outside the middle window on the south side of the crypt, and a stone slab put over the space. By inserting the head through this window, a small portion of the outside of the wall, with a deep string course, can be seen.

The building has suffered a little from the ravages of time and from the base uses to which it has been put; but it is, on the whole, in good structural condition. The stone used for the dressings is firestone from the Surrey hills, a material which lasts well in protected positions.

THE TWO CHAPELS IN THE TOWER OF LONDON.[1]

By G. H. BIRCH, F.S.A.

I.—THE CHAPEL ROYAL OF S. JOHN THE EVANGELIST WITHIN THE WHITE TOWER.

It seems passing strange that a man who was a monk, and by the favour of his sovereign afterwards Bishop of Rochester, a man supposed to be of peace, should in this place and in others be found to be associated with a building certainly not erected for peaceful purposes. Gundulph, formerly an inmate of the Abbey of Bec in Normandy, followed William, the first Norman King, to England; and from his superior skill in that mode of architecture practised in Normandy was extensively employed by William, and was ordered to erect this Keep of the White Tower after a fashion then prevalent in Normandy and France, of huge square enclosures, with walls of enormous thickness and of great height, with smaller towers and walls at their base, access to these central masses being only by one small door, and at a good height from the ground, so that in the case of the outer works being taken, the garrison could retire to this as a stronghold. These Keeps were generally kept well stored with provisions, and possessed a well within their own walls. London, Dover, Norwich, Rochester and Newcastle, soon possessed Keeps which for strength and size could rival those at Loches, Arques, Chauvigny Roche, Guyon, and Etampes. Gundulph, although he is credited with the erection of Rochester Keep, was not really the builder of it. It was later; but here in London he certainly

[1] Reprinted by the Author's permission.

was employed. Can we, then, attribute the size and importance given to this chapel to the fact that his feelings as a Churchman triumphed over those of the military architect, and that we find here a feature which we do not find anywhere else to anything like the same extent?

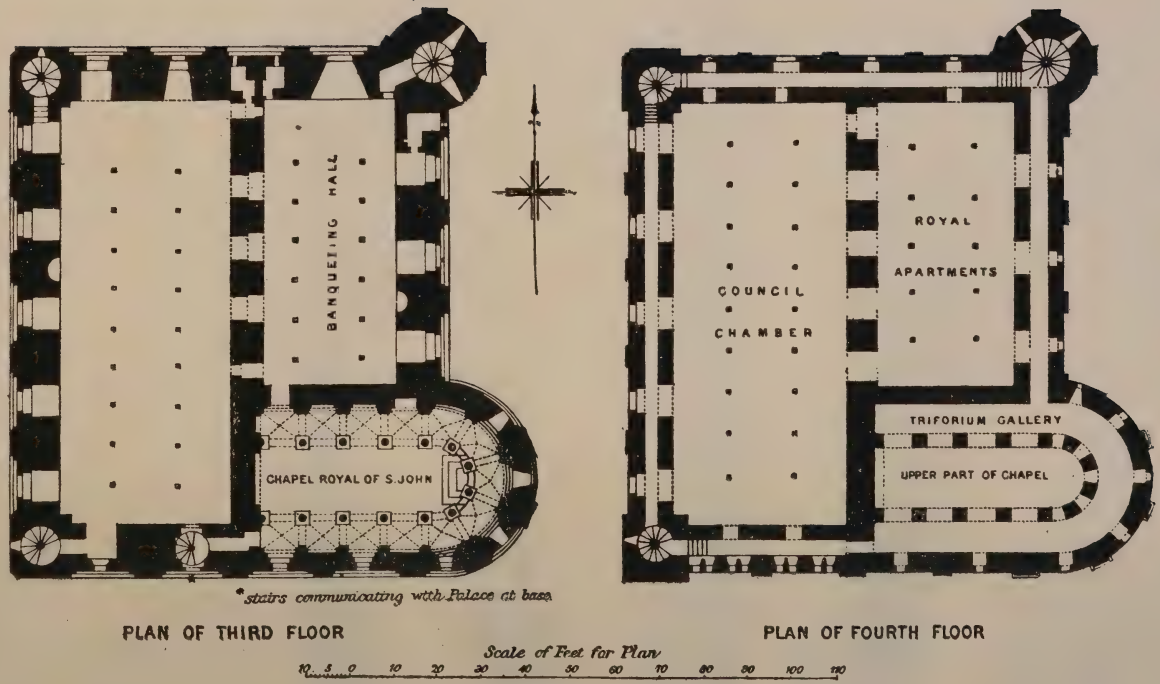
London having at once submitted to William, and having been peacefully confirmed in its rights and privileges by a special charter, offered no possible resistance; but the size and importance of the city made William reflect, that although he experienced no resistance then to his authority, it might develop at some future period, and that a stronger residence than the old palace at Westminster, which had contented the weak and feeble Edward, would be a fitting place for a monarch who might have to enforce his authority on subjects who had peacefully received him as the appointed successor of Edward, but who knew very little about him. He decided at once to build some sort of strong fortification, and probably added to the then existing Arx Palatina, which was of Roman origin, and defended the city and commanded the river to the east. These works were most likely deep ditches and palisades, for it was not until twelve or fourteen years later that this Keep was commenced, and was so large and massive and so enormously strong that it received the name of *the* Tower, and has retained it ever since. Gundulph lived to the age of eighty-four, and did not die until the year 1108, the ninth of Henry I., and a little more than thirty years after his death we find him mentioned in the Textus Roffensis, "Gundulfus ex præcepto regis Wilhelmi Magni præesset operi magnæ turris Londoniæ." This Tower then, and a few buildings at its base, surrounded by walls and towers, and a ditch enclosing the dwelling of the so-called Conqueror, was the first nucleus around which, in the reigns of succeeding monarchs of Norman and Plantagenet stock, sprung up other Towers, wider walls, and the present ditch. William Rufus, his son and successor, increased the strength and added to the fortifications, and it became a matter of discontent to the citizens,

when they saw, little by little, the Tower and its defences assuming proportions that looked like a standing menace to them, which instead of defending them was likely to threaten and overawe them.

This enclosure of the White Tower is, roughly speaking, a square, shorter from north to south than from east to west; its dimensions are 107 feet from north to south, and 118 from east to west. The ground it stands upon slopes towards the south or river side, the ground on the north being 25 feet higher, so that the basement, which is level on the higher side, is considerably above the ground on the other. Its western angles are square, the south-eastern projects in a semi-circular bow which forms the apse of the chapel 42 feet in diameter. It never seems to have possessed a lower building, as at Dover, Norwich and Newcastle, to protect the entrance and staircase; nor is it now perfectly certain, with the great changes which have taken place on the exterior, by modern facings, &c., where this original entrance was.

The height to the battlements is 90 feet, and the staircases at the angles are carried up as turrets, 16 feet higher. The principal staircase, which is at the north-east corner, communicates with the principal floors, and descends to the basement. Internally this area is divided by a wall from north to south, the whole height, 10 feet thick, but in unequal proportions, the western being the widest. The eastern division is again subdivided by a transverse wall from east to west, so that every floor is divided into three chambers of unequal size. The exterior walls are 15 feet thick. The basement, which, as I have said, is some 25 feet above the ground on the south, and level on the north, consists of three chambers, the smallest of which, over where we are standing, is called the "Little Ease," and forms really the sub-crypt of the chapel, 15 feet wide by 47 feet; the east end is semi-circular, and very little light ever entered. It is vaulted with a rough barrel vault; the larger chamber on the west is 91 feet by 35 feet, and was used as a

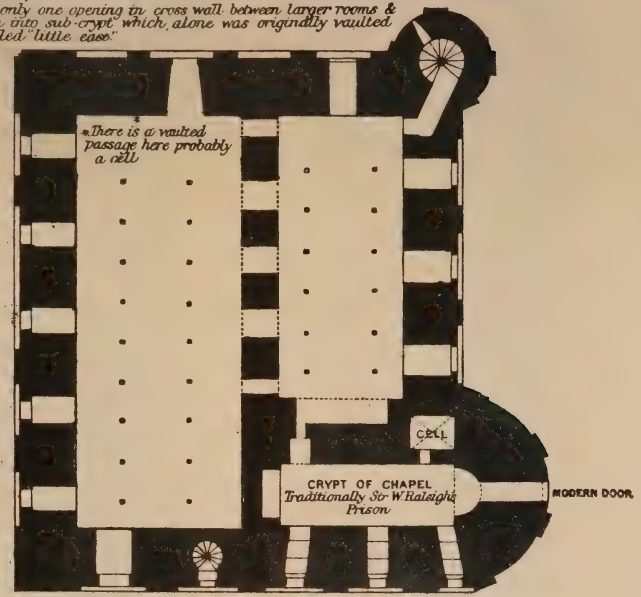
storehouse, and also the other chamber 67 feet by 28 feet. These last two have been subsequently vaulted in brick. The next floor, which we will call the ground floor, although considerably above that level, is divided in the same manner, but the dimensions are a little larger, in consequence of the external walls being only 13 feet thick. Under the chapel is the crypt proper, 39 feet long, circular ended and 13 feet 6 inches wide; it is traditionally called Raleigh's prison. Out of this, at the north-east angle, is a cell 10 feet by 8 feet, only entered by a low door, and with no external light. These gloomy vaults have all been used for prisons, and on the sides of the door leading to this cell are carved inscriptions. The windows of the crypt and the other windows have all been altered from the original narrow loops to wider modern openings, and the two larger rooms have been converted into armouries and wainscoted, so that all external marks of antiquity have been obliterated. The crypt is vaulted, but the other apartments have double rows of oak posts supporting the beams of the ceiling. The first floor in the proper division, really the third—the one we are now on,—is similarly divided as those below; but here the Chapel of S. John is subdivided into a centre and aisles, the arcade is supported by twelve cylindrical piers and two responds, six of which form the apse, the aisles being vaulted with a plain groined vault, the arches are plain without any mouldings and rest on singularly massive caps, which are not all similar. The abacus is simply moulded, and so are the bases, which rest on square plinths, with a plain chamfered sub-base. The windows have been modernised. Above the arcade is a triforium gallery, the arches of which correspond to the arches below, and are absolutely without any enrichment. The whole is covered with a barrel vault, the triforium stage being level with the uppermost floor, and communicating with it. This gallery is also barrel-vaulted, and lighted by windows on the southern and eastern sides. We now arrive at the floor over this, which has two large rooms—one called the Council Chamber—and it



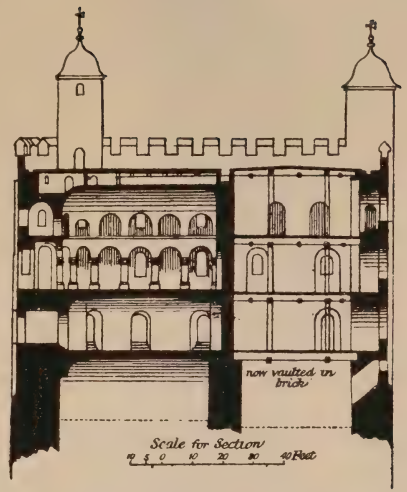
THE WHITE TOWER.

N.B. THE FIRST FLOOR IS SIMILAR, OUTSIDE WALLS ONE FOOT THICKER.

There is only one opening in cross wall between larger rooms & one again into sub-crypt which alone was originally vaulted & is called "little ease."



PLAN OF SECOND FLOOR



SECTION FROM EAST TO WEST.

THE WHITE TOWER.

was this floor that was occupied by the monarch, and the smaller apartment properly subdivided. The King attended the services in the chapel in this triforium; the floor below was occupied by his retainers and household. The whole building of this chapel is excessively plain, and it is not until the reign of Henry III. that we hear of decoration, when he had it painted and stained glass was inserted. Its severity has given rise to a widespread opinion that these early Norman buildings were, at first, utterly devoid of all ornament; but the nave at Waltham Abbey, earlier than this, and portions of the Confessor's original church, discovered at Westminster, prove that no analogy can be drawn between what was really a domestic chapel, built in a central keep of a strong castle, and built also in haste, and the architecture of wealthy foundations such as Waltham and Westminster, where time and money were of no object. In the upper floor the thickness of the walls is lightened by mural galleries for convenience of access to different parts, but the same arrangement of posts supporting the beams of what now becomes the roof existed and still exists.

I should mention that over the vaulting of the chapel, and under the leads, is an apartment, the whole length of the chapel, and about seven feet high, and lighted by windows. There seems to be only one fireplace, which is in the eastern side of the eastern room, communicating with the ground floor of the chapel, and which might have been the King's presence chamber.[1] There are three garde-robes on this floor. The coldness of this royal lodging, in winter, must have been intolerable, and no amount of hangings and charcoal brasiers could have surmounted it; therefore, it is not surprising that Henry III. considerably enlarged and extended the palace at the south side, and that these apartments were abandoned for more genial quarters below, but the chapel and Council Chamber were still frequently used. In 1240, Henry gave particular directions that the chapel should be repaired and ornamented, and among other

[1] Another has since been discovered.

decorations, he ordered that three stained-glass windows were to be made, one towards the north, with a little Mary holding her child, and two others towards the south, representing the most Holy Trinity and S. John the Apostle and Evangelist. The Cross and the Rood were also to be painted well, and in good colours, and there were likewise to be made and painted, where they could be best seen and most properly done, two fair images, one of them of S. Edward holding a ring and presenting it to S. John the Evangelist, in accordance with the well-known legend. We also hear in his reign, *horribile dictu!* of a thing which we always thought belonged to the age of churchwardens only: he orders that the whole of the chapel of S. John should be WHITEWASHED! There are frequent allusions to the outside walls of the Keep being whitewashed, and it was to this circumstance it probably owed its name of the White Tower.

The chapel was dismantled in 1550, by an order in Council, August 22nd, directing all such crosses, images, and plate of gold as remained, to be melted down. In 1553, the bootless recantation of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, took place in this chapel, on the day before his execution.

At the foot of the staircase leading to the passage into the south aisle, in Charles II.'s reign, were discovered the supposed bones of the two princes, Edward V., and the Duke of York, who were traditionally believed to have been murdered in the Bloody Tower, or Garden Tower, and secretly buried. These remains were removed to the east end of the north aisle of Henry VII.'s Chapel, at Westminster.

I ask you before leaving this historic spot to look around, and try to realise the ancient splendour of this Royal Chapel within this grim fortress, and to remember that from yonder gallery looked down the ruthless William and his cousin-wife Matilda of Flanders; William the Red and his brother; the learned Henry and his Saxon bride, the heiress of the

Saxon line, Maude; her daughter Maude, the Empress; Stephen; Henry II. and his richly dowered, but unloved and unloving wife, Eleanor of Guienne; Richard of the Lion Heart and Berengaria; the weak and corpulent John; the art-loving Henry III.; Edward and his devoted wife, Eleanor of Castille, and their royal successors; and here on the floor where we are assembled, the doughty Earls and Barons, who gained for us Magna Charta; and here in silent watch and prayer, feebly illumined by the twinkling altar tapers, knelt the Knights of the Bath, previous to their installation; and here knelt Brakenbury at his prayers when he was bidden to go and murder the innocent; the meek and pious Henry VI., sighing as he turns his book of hours, and wondering how long it will be before he is again whirled along in tumult to a palace instead of a prison; and here laid out in pallid death, and surrounded by the glow of tapers in gorgeous state, Elizabeth of York, while prelates pray, and chaplains chant Dirige and Placebo. Shadows, all shadows, who have flitted across the floor of this Chapel Royal, and who have played their part in history, and have faded and died away like the echo of their own voices beneath this vaulted roof.

II.—S. PETER "AD VINCULA" APUD TURRIM.

Although there may be nothing to particularly distinguish the architecture of this church, presenting as it does the appearance of an ordinary city church, such as existed before the great fire, it possesses a claim to our interest and attention far beyond any other, because it is a living page in our national history—a page also smeared with blood, much of it innocent, and dimmed also with tears of the captive.

Its exterior walls were the last thing on earth that their sorrowful eyes looked upon, and into its sacred precincts were borne their headless bodies, when tyranny had done its worst. At the western extremity of the City stands that

noble fane, with its high embowered roof and storeyed windows richly dight, where, in all the pride of heraldry and pomp of power, the mighty of this world sleep their last sleep, amid heroes and kings, and the pealing anthem swells the note of praise above their mouldering dust; but here, shut in within the walls of a gloomy fortress, discrowned, dishonoured, in nameless and unmarked graves, lay the bodies of royal and noble victims of tyranny, bigotry, and hate, sleeping their last sleep alike until judge, accuser, prisoner, and victim await a verdict from the Great Judge of all. Surely, in no Church throughout the length and breadth of England can there be possibly attached more significance or meaning to that beautiful suffrage in the Litany, "That it may please Thee . . . to show Thy pity upon all prisoners and captives," than in this place and within these walls.

It is difficult to assign a date to its first foundation; it may not be quite so old as the Royal Chapel of S. John within the Norman Keep, but we know that it existed in King John's time, and was in all probability first erected by Henry I., when he considerably enlarged the area of the Tower, and it was deemed necessary for the convenience of a numerous garrison of men-at-arms, who could not well have been accommodated within the Chapel of S. John, which, as we have seen, was in close communication with the royal apartments. If it had been parochial we might have perhaps learnt the date of its foundation, but at its first erection it was not parochial, and a serious contention about this lasted for several centuries.

I have alluded to its probable foundation by Henry I. His brother and predecessor, William Rufus, had increased the fortifications of the Tower, and Henry, soon after his accession, still further added to them, to the great discontent of the citizens, and finding the White Tower but a cold and cheerless place to live in, had begun the buildings to the south and east, afterwards enlarged and extended by his successors, and added also this chapel. It had been in

existence for some time before Henry III.'s reign,[1] for in 1241 we find him giving directions for the decoration of both the chapels, and his instructions about S. Peter's were very minute. He orders the stalls in the chancel to be repaired, ornamented, and painted for the use of himself and Queen, and that the little Mary, with her tabernacle or shrine, and the figures of SS. Peter, Nicholas, and Katherine should be newly coloured, all with the best colours, the beam beyond the altar of S. Peter, and the little cross and images to be refreshed with good colours, another statue of the Blessed Virgin to be made beyond the altar of S. Peter on the north side, and a statue of S. Peter in a solemn archiepiscopal vesture on the south, all in the best manner; and there was also to be made and painted in the said church, when it could be better and more decently done, an image of S. Christopher holding and carrying Jesus. Two fair tables or pictures of the best colours, containing the legends of SS. Nicholas and Katherine, were likewise to be painted before the two altars, and two fair cherubim, "with cheerful and pleasant countenances" ("duos scherumbinos cum hyllari vultu et jocoso") were to be placed on the right hand and on the left of the great cross. A marble font was to be made with marble columns well and decently carved. The Latin original of these instructions is very quaint in its wording and spelling; and is important for the reason that it clearly establishes the existence of a church very similar in plan to the present one, as it speaks of the "cancellum Beatæ Mariæ in ecclesia Sancti Petri et cancellum Beatri Petri in eadem ecclesia," showing the existence of the two chancels. A few years afterwards we find him ordering two bells for it, and in 1272, the year of his decease, a chaplain was appointed for fifty shillings a year to pray for his soul.

[1] In 1210, Osmund, a knight, bound for Poictou, received a grant from King John in the eleventh year of his reign, ten marks and one hundred shillings, to buy a horse. The grant was given from the Church of S. Peter at the Tower of London.

In Edward I.'s reign, considerable alterations and reparations were again made, and it is reported that remains of this building are to be seen in the crypt, which extends beneath the north aisle. From the words of the original addressed to Ralph de Sandwich, Constable of our Tower of London, it seems to have been an entire rebuilding, because the said Ralph is to be reimbursed for the various sums expended in the construction of our chapel within the Tower. From these various documents still preserved, you can judge that the chapel in the White Tower was not the only one honoured by the royal presence, and that the King and Queen worshipped among the garrison and men-at-arms in the Chapel of S. Peter quite as often, if not more so, than in that beautiful Norman chapel we have lately visited.

During the succeeding reigns, various schemes were started, but never carried into execution, by various monarchs, notably by Edward III. and Edward IV., to make this church collegiate as in the other palaces of Westminster and Windsor, and endow it for a dean and canons; and the last monarch actually instituted a dean and three canons, but his death occurring before the grant could be completed, it once more fell through. Early in the reign of Henry VIII., in 1512, we hear of a fire which did much damage to it, so that in 1532 the same King ordered a general repair, and it is to this period we assign the present appearance of the Chapel Royal of S. Peter ad Vincula, which now consists of a nave and chancel under one continuous roof, the nave of three bays and the chancel of one bay, with a sanctuary beyond, and a north aisle. The arcade is well proportioned, but the arches rather depressed, the east window a plain mullioned window of five lights, with cusped heads. The east window of the aisle is similar, but of four lights, and the remainder of the church is lighted by three-light windows. There is a small turret for the bells at the west end; the roofs now replaced with modern work were originally of very low pitch, almost flat, with moulded centre

ridge and principals and wall plate. The rafters before the "restoration" were concealed by a plastered ceiling. There is a hagioscope between the chancel of S. Mary and the chancel of S. Peter, now partly concealed by the Blount Monument, and a piscina.

About 1862, the first attempts were made towards improving the interior: the plaster ceiling was removed, the old moulded beams were exposed, a modern porch on the south side was removed, and the original west door, which had been concealed by plaster and bricked up, was opened, and the fragments of the west window which had been used for this purpose were reinstated in their former position, and the west window restored.[1] In 1876, her Most Gracious Majesty decided that the whole interior should be re-seated and re-paved, and the gallery removed which had been inserted in George II.'s reign for the accommodation of the garrison, and completely blocked the north aisle and west end. Athough the drawings for the restoration were shown to Salvin, the repairs were executed by the Office of Works, who under Mr. Taylor have since executed all the restorations within the Tower. In consequence of the many interments of residents in the neighbourhood, the paving and floor were in a very sunken and insanitary condition, for many were within two feet of the surface. It was therefore decided to repave the whole, and remove the coffins into the crypt. Eventually the chancel was ordered to be repaved, and as it was known that the more illustrious victims of Tudor and Stuart tyranny were interred beneath, a very careful examination took place, and various bones and skeletons, some of them terribly misplaced and scattered by subsequent interments, were collected and placed in small square leaden coffers, and external coverings of oak, and then reinterred. A very careful medical examination established the identity of these beyond dispute. The large admixture of lime among the earth around some of them proved that means had been

[1] This window, as can be readily seen, dates from the restorations made by Edward I.

taken to destroy the bodies after death, and the bones of Queen Catherine Howard had nearly all perished. The bodies were generally interred without coffins. Queen Anne Boleyn was thrust into an old chest in which arrows had been kept, so that no coffin plates, which would further have identified the remains, were anywhere discovered.

A register was kept of burials, and the locality is generally mentioned as in the chapel; and Stow, Weever, and Machyn give more minute accounts. The first-mentioned says: "Here lieth, before the high altar, in S. Peter's Church, two Dukes between two Queens;" so that there has never been any doubt as to their position. The so-called rebel lords—Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, Lord Balmerino, and the Earl of Kilmarnock and the Marquis of Tullibardine, were all interred in the chapel: the three first at the west end under the gallery, but it is not known where the last was buried, except that it was in the chapel. Baron Wem, otherwise Lord Chancellor Jefferies, was first buried here, but afterwards removed to S. Mary's, Aldermanbury. Philip, Earl of Arundel, whose unmerited sufferings and long captivity will ever be accounted one of Elizabeth's greatest crimes, was, by permission of James I., removed to Arundel Church. Sir Thomas More was buried under the belfry, near to Fisher, Bishop of Rochester; and here also, after a long imprisonment, were buried the two poor brothers—Arthur and Edmund Pole, nephews of Cardinal Pole, and grandsons of Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, and great-grandsons of George, Duke of Clarence.

Of all these that I have mentioned there is, of course, no memorial whatever; their name was supposed to perish with them when their bodies were here buried in peace. But there are monuments here to others, perhaps, more fortunate in being the keepers and custodians of the Tower, than the poor wretches whose lives and liberties were committed to them. In the north-east corner of the aisle stands a very beautiful panelled altar-tomb, surmounted by two effigies of Sir Richard Cholmondeley and the Lady Elizabeth, his wife.

It has twice been moved. It stood, originally, in the centre of the nave in front of the chancel; it was then moved to the west end of the north aisle, and again to where you see it. The effigies are in alabaster, and are in a fair state of preservation, and have been originally coloured and gilt. Sir Richard is in plate armour. Over a coat of mail his head rests on a helmet, and his feet on a lion. His hands are joined in prayer; around his neck he wears the collar of SS., with a pendent rose; the hair is worn long, and cut straight across the forehead, no beard; on the right side he wears a short dagger; the gauntlets are laid on the tomb, by the side of the right leg. His wife is on his left hand: she wears a sort of pointed coif on her head, and a long kirtle; her head rests on a cushion, and round the edge of the tomb runs a Latin inscription, in black letters: "Here lie the bodies of Richard Cholmondeley, knight, and of the Lady Elizabeth, his consort (date left blank), on whose souls may God have mercy. Amen." He was lieutenant in Henry VII.'s reign, and probably erected this tomb in his own lifetime; he served under the Earl of Surrey at Flodden, and died about 1544, leaving no legitimate offspring, but he had a natural son, who became afterwards Sir Roger Cholmondeley, Lord Chief Justice of England. When this tomb was taken down, in 1876, to move it where it now stands, fragments of the old font were found packed inside it.

The monument on the north side of the chancel commemorates Sir Richard Blount and Sir Michael, his son, both lieutenants of the Tower during the worst period of oppression. The monument really consists of two, Sir Michael's being of a similar design, and placed immediately next to it, so that the design represents four arched recesses divided by Corinthian columns carrying an entablature. The easternmost represents Sir Richard in one compartment, kneeling, with two sons behind him; and his wife in the other with two daughters. Sir Michael is in the next compartment with three sons, and his wife, and one daughter; the whole has been richly coloured and gilt.

On the south side of the chancel is a black marble tablet to Sir Allan Apsley (Lieutenant of the Tower), died May 24th, 1630; next to this is a monument to George Taylor (Master Surveyor of the Ordnance) and Lady Maria Carey, his wife, and to their children. On the north wall is a tablet to Valentine Pine (Master Gunner), and others commemorating lieutenants. The brass tablet on the east wall of the chancel commemorates that grand old hero—Sir John Fox Burgoyne, who lies buried beneath; and the other tablet, Lord de Ros, the last of the Deputy Lieutenants of the Tower, the office now being abolished. During his lieutenancy the first attempts were made at treating the Tower more as an historic monument than as a building to be hacked and hewed about at anyone's will. Lord de Ros wrote the best of all the works on the Tower extant; and this book with Bayley's *Tower*, and my friend the late Doyne Bell's book on S. Peter's, give a complete history of the Tower; all three of which I have largely consulted in compiling this short notice.

PLAN OF INTERMENTS IN THE CHANCEL.

From Doyne Bell's *Chapel of S. Peter ad Vincula*, 1877, p. 52.

ALTAR.

Duke of Monmouth.
1685.

1	2		4	5	6	7
Lord Rochford.	Queen Anne Boleyn.	Duke of Somerset.	Duke of Northumberland.	Queen Katherine Howard.	Lady Rochford.	Countess of Salisbury.
1536.	1536.	1551.	1555.	1542.	1542.	1541.
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Lord Guildford Dudley	Lady Jane Grey.	Duke of Suffolk.	Duke of Norfolk.	Earl of Arundel.	Earl of Essex.	Sir T. Overbury.
1554.	1554.	1554.	1572.	1595.	1601.	1613.

Sir R. Blount, 1564, Mary Blount, Sir R. Blount.
Lyster Blount, 1633. 1592.

THE PRIORY AND PAROCHIAL CHURCH OF S. HELEN'S, BISHOPSGATE.

By GEORGE H. BIRCH, F.S.A.

THE City of London, in its busy, crowded precincts, has many a quiet nook and corner hidden away behind its main thoroughfares, where the ceaseless ebb and flow of the human tide scarcely reaches, and where there still lingers an old-world air of quiet and repose which the casual hurrying footstep rarely disturbs but for a moment, and as the echoes fade upon the ear, the chirp of the sparrow and rustle of the leaves of a few old trees are all the sound one hears. And such places, such nooks, are generally fraught with an interest beyond the common one of quiet and repose. History lingers round them and consecrates them afresh, and old memories, old traditions of the forgotten past, mingle with their very atmosphere.

S. Helen's, Bishopsgate, is pre-eminently such a site. Out of crowded Bishopsgate Street, just past the famous

[1] Reprinted with the Author's consent.

From an old print.

ST. HELEN'S. LEATHERSELLERS' HALL.

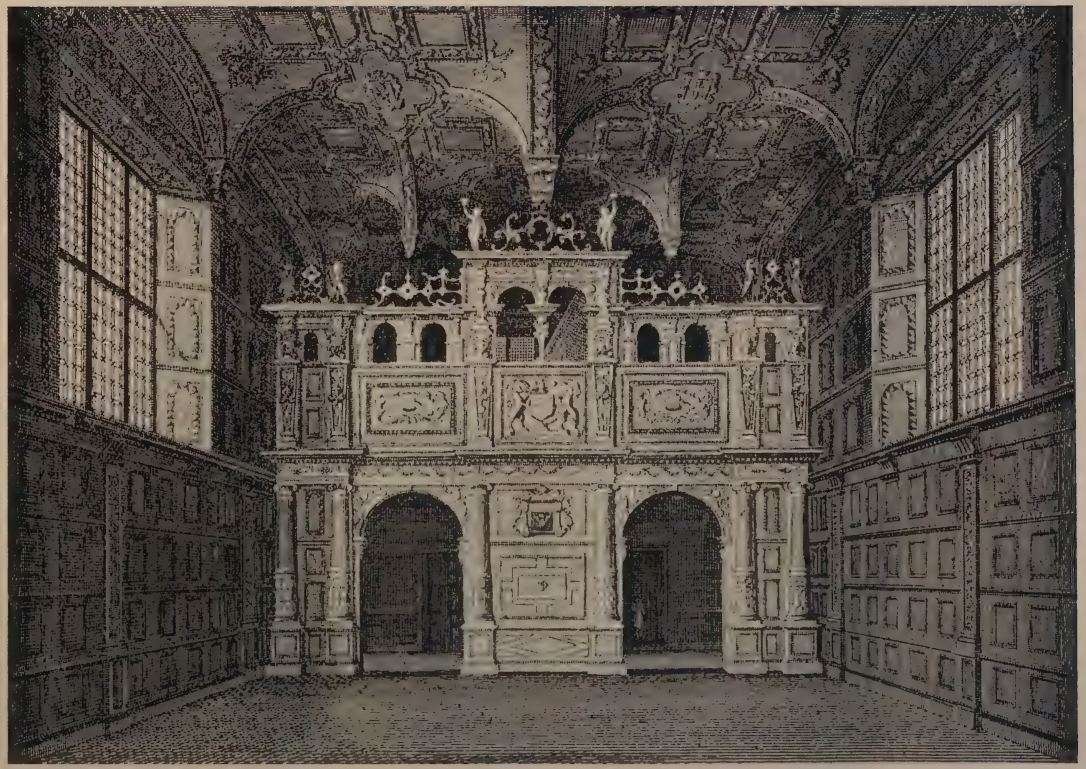
Crosby Hall, a covered entry leads to a quiet court, and in this, preceded by an avenue of limes, stands the priory and parochial church. A much-needed and necessary restoration may for the time have robbed it externally of its antiquity, for the corroding tooth of Time the destroyer rests not; but its very quaintness of outline, to which the lead turret so largely contributes, would be sufficient to arrest our footsteps and to make us at once inquire, What quaint old church is that? The old south door, a few steps further, answers us by the inscription over the lintel, "Laus Deo S. Helena." S. Helen! Why, that takes us back to Roman Britain; and not to Britain only, but to Imperial Rome and to the master of legions, and to "Christianity," and to the time when the hand of the persecutor had been stayed and the forces of paganism paled before the rays of the true Light.

This church reminds us of all this, for century after century it has kept watch and ward, and seen the Roman colonist, the Saxon, and the Dane and Norman within its walls, for as to when it was first founded no one knows; but its very dedication to St. Helen, a reputed British princess, is an argument in proof of its remote antiquity. In this part of London we stand where Roman remains of rich tesselated and mosaic pavements are richest, not originally within the first Roman wall, but included afterwards. Many a villa and Roman house must have lined this old Bishopsgate Street, and, on the introduction of Christianity, which saint would be more likely to be honoured above others by the Roman British colonist but S. Helen, "Piissima et Venerabilis Augusta," their own reputed country-woman, to whom Christianity owed so much.

We hear little of S. Helen's until Saxon times, and then the monks of Edmundsbury came fleeing to London with horrible tales of murder and fire and sacrilege by the dreaded Danes, and bringing with them among their costly treasures the body of the martyred King, S. Edmund, and that they placed it within these walls for the space of three years for safety.

In 1139, or a little before, a deed acquaints us of a transaction between the Dean and Canons of S. Paul's, and as Archbishop Thurstan of York is mentioned as living, it could not be later, as he died in that year. In 1181 S. Helen's is mentioned among the manors and churches belonging to the Cathedral, and as possessing a churchyard and paying synodal and archidiaconal fees. Up to the end of the twelfth century and commencement of the thirteenth the church had hitherto been parochial, and administered to the needs of the surrounding neighbourhood; but a change took place which rather altered the character of it, although the parochial part was not interfered with, and this was the foundation of the Priory or Convent of Benedictine Nuns. The founder was William, the son of William the goldsmith, or, as he was generally called, William FitzWilliam; he was patron of the living at the time, towards the end of King John's reign, about 1212.

The preceding century had been productive of many monastic establishments within and without the walls of the City. The Canons Regular of the Order of S. Augustine had been already established at the royal foundation of Christ Church or Holy Trinity, Aldgate, S. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, and S. Mary Overie; the Knights Templar at Holborn and in the Temple; and the Knights of S. John or Hospitallers at Clerkenwell. But the only religious house for women then in London or closely contiguous was the Benedictine Nunnery at Clerkenwell, Stratford, and Holywell (the Nuns of S. Clare or Minoresses came afterwards). So that at the time of the foundation of S. Helen's Priory there was not that plethora of monastic foundations within its walls which the advent of the Friars so largely increased. These Benedictine Sisters gave up some of their time to the education of the daughters of well-to-do citizens, and must have been useful people in their day and generation. The original deed of foundation is in existence, in which Alardus de Burnham, in the name of himself and Chapter of S. Paul's, grants to William the son of William that he may constitute nuns



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within the said church for the perpetual service of God, providing that the prioress or other governing such house after their election should swear fidelity to the said Dean and Chapter, and pay to them half a mark annually; and that they should have the patronage of the living, provided that they never alienated such patronage or subject their convent to any other control; and should they behave themselves improperly the property should pass from them and go to some religious order of men. William FitzWilliam must then have altered the church to suit this new purpose, and he added on the north side another nave and choir of the same length as the existing church, and it is this addition which gives the present building so odd a look with only one arcade or row of arches, and this was probably the original arrangement, although the present arcade, with the exception of one arch, is later. The earlier windows have disappeared with the exception of one, which was opened out in 1868.

The southern side, or parochial church, has a nave and chancel, and, in addition, a south transept and two eastern chapels. The nuns' part would have been closely screened off. In the late restoration traces of very early work were found; especially in the parochial nave and south transept Norman work was visible. To the north of the nuns' church were the cloisters, around which were grouped the fratry or refectory, the dortor, chapter house, parlours, and sub-prioresses' rooms, and muniment room. These all existed until the end of last century, for the Leathersellers' Company, having bought the buildings of the nunnery, turned them, or rather a part of them, into their hall, and this hall of theirs, which had been altered and fitted up late in Elizabeth's or early in James I.'s reign, and was a perfect specimen of the art of that period, and one of the most beautiful in London, was destroyed to give place to their present hall, a very commonplace affair, and at the same time most of the old conventual buildings were cleared away and S. Helen's Place built on the site. For over two hundred years the sisters pursued the even tenour of their

way, and there is little to record; but towards the end of the fifteenth century, through the munificence of their tenant, Sir John Crosbie, certain alterations were made in the interior which completely transformed it, and which gave the church the appearance it now presents. A few alterations had been made previously to the parochial part, especially the eastern chapels; but the principal alteration was made in consequence of Sir John Crosbie's legacy of 500 marks, aided, doubtless, by other charitable citizens. This alteration consisted mainly of removing the old arcade between the two parts of the church and re-building them in the then prevailing fashion, and the old lancet or single-light windows were removed and larger ones inserted. One arch only of the earlier building was retained, and as the stalls for the nuns backed against it, it was probably left to allow their services and canonical hours to be uninterrupted. This arch is the last but one nearest the east end; the last arch itself is a much later insertion, and probably only dates from the time of the erection of the tomb of the Pickerings, father and son. Crosbie's alterations must have been made about 1475 or soon after, although the will is dated 1471. In this document he directs that his body be buried in the chapel of the Holy Ghost within the "parish" church of S. Helen within Bishopsgate, London, in the same place where the body of "Anneys" (or Agnes?), his late wife, was buried, in case it fortuned him to decease within the realm of England. After particularising his tomb and its ornaments, he bequeaths various sums to the prioress and nuns of S. Helen and to the parish priest of the parish church of S. Helen (making thereby a marked distinction between the two foundations), to do placebo, dirge, and masses of requiem for his soul and that of his late wife, and for the souls of all his children passed to God and for all Christian souls, and forty shillings to a priest to pray for his soul in the parish church of S. Helen, and for his obit to be holden yearly for forty years in the said church.

Sir John evidently looked upon the sisters with great

From an old print.

CROSBY HALL.

affection. Alice Ashfield, the then prioress, had leased to him the ground on which he had built his stately mansion for ninety-nine years, at the annual ground rent of £11 6s. 8d. This stately mansion still partly exists, and is known as Crosby Hall. Sir John was a member of the Grocers' Company and a wool stapler, and a very worthy specimen of the merchant princes of the olden time; and Stowe, while recording some gossip about his being a foundling, casts considerable doubt upon it; and although he was an Alderman and Sheriff in 1470, and knighted by Edward IV. in 1471, he never seems to have filled the office of Lord Mayor, although he represented the City in Parliament. It is unnecessary to state he was a devoted Yorkist, and on his effigy the collar of roses and suns is greatly in evidence. The previous alterations to the thirteenth century church, before alluded to, probably consisted in altering the old lancet windows to the nuns' choir and parish choir to large windows of the Decorated type, as, in 1308, William de Basing, Sheriff of London, was a liberal benefactor, as also was Adam Francis, Lord Mayor, who built the chapels of the Holy Ghost and Our Lady, eastward of the south transept. This Adam Francis died in 1534, so that improvements had already been made in the interior before the executors of Sir John Crosbie took it in hand and completely changed its internal appearance. Before this time (1475) the church still possessed its high-pitched roofs and early arcade, one arch of which only is left; and the soil outside had accumulated above the level of the floor inside. Crosbie's 500 marks, aided by other donations, was expended in raising the floor slightly, building the present beautiful arcade of four arches, and substituting flat moulded roofs of oak over the whole area, and putting larger fifteenth century windows instead of the narrow, single, lancet ones. In the nuns' choir on the north wall is still to be seen the door which led to the dormitory of the nuns, who were obliged by their rules to keep the canonical hours of primes, lauds, mattins, tierce, sexts, nones, vespers, and complines, and to do this a con-

venient approach to the church had to be made from the dormitory. Probably the sisters joined two or three of these services into one, so that they were not obliged to rise from their beds every three hours and shuffle down into the cold church. A few more uneventful years passed over these quiet precincts, until the distant muttering of that storm began to be heard which finally swept down all before it, and left this ancient church battered and ruined like an old hulk thrown up by the waves beyond the reach of further mishap. One can trace in the business transactions of the last few years of the priory the futile efforts made by the last prioress, in the name and on behalf of the convent, to ward off that catastrophe which would soon drive them from their peaceful home out into a world of which they knew nothing or had but very little experience of. On the 10th of September, 1534, we find the prioress and convent, in the vain hope of making themselves friends with the mammon of unrighteousness, giving the infamous Thomas Cromwell, afterwards Earl of Essex, then at that time secretary to the King, an annuity of four marks to be paid out of their lands for the term of his natural life, and payable at Michaelmas, and that he might enter and distrain if the annuity was in arrear, and that they paid a sum down as earnest money. One can fancy the poor prioress doing this in consultation with her steward, and thinking that by thus propitiating a man of influence he might possibly be of assistance to them in the preservation of their beautiful house and home. How little did they reckon that they were dealing with a double-dyed traitor, whose appetite for gold only increased with what it fed on, and that when the final storm broke this infamous pension would be actually allowed by the Court of Augmentation, while other charities and doles for the poor would be ruthlessly swept away!

They had before this been granting leases of some of their outside property; in many cases the leases were only renewed, and very rarely for more than forty years, with the

exception of Crosby Hall, which had been leased in 1466 for a term of ninety-nine years. This would have expired in 1565, but in 1538 they granted a lease to Antony Bonvixi, merchant, their great messuage, with houses, cellars, solars, and gardens, called "Crosbyes Place," together with nine messuages belonging to the same, for a term of seventy-one years, which was to take effect immediately after the expiration and completion of the aforesaid term of ninety-nine years. This transaction rather shows the uneasy feeling which pervaded men's minds at the time, that they had better be beforehand and get some of the spoils before the Crown entered and took possession, when they would have to reckon with a very different kind of landlords to the gentle prioresses. During the very last days we find the convent granting annuities of the same description as that to Thomas Cromwell, to Edward Rollesley, for good and faithful service, an annuity of forty shillings—he was, doubtless, the steward; then to John Rollesley, for good counsel past and future; four marks to Henry Bowsfel, gent, for good counsel; to Jerome Shelton, for good counsel; to John Staverton and to John Melsham, for the like. How in all these transactions one can trace the growing anxiety of the prioress, and how, when one counsellor proved a broken reed, she turned to another. But at last the evil day broke, and the deed of surrender still existing in the Record Office shows the seal of the Priory, but no signatures. Even that formality was dispensed with, and we can only suppose naturally that the sisters were unwilling. It is dated the 25th of November, 1538. But in Cardinal Pole's pension book, 1556, the following pensions and annuities were paid to the then survivors :—

S. HELEN'S LATE PRIORY.

Annuities—

Edward Rowlesley	40	shillings
John Rowlesley	53	,,
Richard Berde	40	,,
John Melsham	20	,,

The poor prioress, Mary Rollesley, was dead, but the following pensions were paid to the surviving sisters:—

Margaret Sampson	53s. 4d.
Elizabeth Graye	53s. 4d.
Katherine Glassappe	53s. 4d.
Joan Pamplyn	56s. 8d.
Elionor Hanham	53s. 4d.
Ann Alleyne	53s. 4d.

And with that entry the sisters of S. Helen's Priory disappear from history. Whether these pensions were ever paid is uncertain. Perhaps some of the sisters found a shelter and home in their families, but there may have been some who were aged and had outlived their families. What became of them?

When once the convent was dissolved it did not take long to divide up the spoils. The church could not well be touched because of the rights of the parishioners; but the whole of the site, sept, circuit, and precincts of the late priory of S. Helen's, the church vulgarly called the "Nonnes Churche of Seynt Helyns," and all houses and buildings belonging to the same, were granted to "Cromwell." On the 28th July, 1540, Thomas Cromwell's annuity ended with his life on Tower Hill, after an hypocritical prayer on the scaffold for the "King's Grace," and that he might live long in health and prosperity, and that his sonne Prince Edward, that goodly "ympe," might long live after him. The advowson passed to the Crown, and was granted by Elizabeth, who so well knew how to do things cheap, as a reward to Captain Nicholas Oseley for information sent from Spain about the Armada, but he did not possess it long. It passed to the Stanhopes, who farmed it, reserving £20 per annum for a "godly preacher." The reign of Elizabeth left its mark upon this old fabric, beside the indelible one upon the "living." The neighbourhood was a rich one, and that most reprehensible custom of burying the dead under the floors of churches was the common practice, hence the stately monuments to the Pickerings, Greshams, and

Spencers. The tomb of the first-mentioned family commemorates the father and son; but the very beautiful effigy is that of the son, Sir William Pickering. He was a very handsome man, and for his good looks much favoured by Elizabeth, and was sent as Ambassador both to France and Germany. According to the inscription on his monument he served under four monarchs—Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth—which says much for his extreme cleverness. He died at his own house in this parish in 1574, in his fifty-eighth year. Close by, at the east end of the nuns' choir, is the plain altar tomb of Sir Thomas Gresham, without effigy or inscription, only his coat of arms cut in the stone, and so long as the Royal Exchange and Gresham College last no further memorial would be needed for so great a man—a real merchant prince. The Gresham Committee have unfortunately filled the east window of the nuns' choir with bad tracery, and still more indifferent glass; an old print shows the original, and it is most regretable that the old form was not copied if a new window was required. This modern work was done in 1865. Another famous celebrity of Elizabeth's reign lies here with his wife under a stately tomb, Sir John Spencer, Alderman of London, generally called "Rich Spencer," whose only daughter, Elizabeth, eloped with William Compton, and finally conveyed his wealth to the Spencer Comptons, the family of the Marquis of Northampton.

But the Crosbys, Pickerings, Gresham, and the Spencers are not the only illustrious dead interred within these old walls; there are monuments to the Bonds, Juddes, Robinsons, Lawrences, and other famous London merchants or merchant adventurers, "who travelled much by land and sea," and a very curious altar tomb to Sir Julius Aldemar or "Cæsar," representing a vellum deed by which he agrees to give up his soul when required. He was Master of the Rolls in James I.'s reign.

When S. Martin Outwich was pulled down—a modern and very ugly church standing at the junction of Bishopsgate

and Threadneedle Streets—and the living annexed to this, some of the monuments which had been preserved from the old church, rebuilt about 1800, were removed here, and among them is a very beautiful altar tomb with the effigies of Sir John de Oteswich and his wife—a singularly beautiful tomb, scarcely excelled by any in Westminster Abbey. Another, a fine canopied tomb in Purbeck marble, once inlaid with brasses, commemorates Alderman Hugh Pemberton. Sir Francis Bancroft, the founder of Bancroft's Almshouses and Schools, formerly was commemorated here with a large railed enclosure, completely blocking the best part of the church, in which stood a tasteless stone tomb with an oaken door, within which, on the ground, was the coffin. A glass lid enabled one to see the shrivelled remains of Bancroft. The charities were left to the care of the Drapers' Company, and also the maintenance of this tomb, and a loaf of bread and pitcher of water were to be placed on the coffin every week. On founder's day the boys of the school were allowed to see their pious benefactor as a great treat; but in consequence of one of the boys having a fit through sheer fright, this annual ceremony was dispensed with. The tomb and contents are now sunk beneath the pavement in a specially prepared vault with a staircase down to it, and the freehold which he had bought in his lifetime marked on the pavement.

In Hatton's *New View of London*, 1708, he describes twelve brasses, but more than half have disappeared, and, although augmented by two from S. Martin Outwich, the number at present is only seven. A very fine one to Thomas Benolte—"Clarencieux King"—and his two wives must have been stolen comparatively recently, because a rubbing of this is still in existence. The old stalls of the nuns, formerly in the nuns' choir, are now arranged as choir seats. In the north wall of the nuns' choir is a curious canopied recess, which possibly might have been an Eastern sepulchre, the lower part of which is pierced with squints, through which a view of the nuns' altar could be obtained from the chamber contiguous to the choir, and another squint a little to

the westward communicates with the south walk of the cloister.

It only remains now to say that the church has lately been thoroughly repaired, the old levels returned to, and all the bodies removed to Ilford, with a few exceptions—a most necessary work, for the ground beneath was in an awful state. The choir had been properly arranged and enclosed with oak parcloses with a magnificent carved oak rood-screen. The old Lady chapel has been fitted up for occasional services, and the old altar stone replaced in position, the oak roof thoroughly repaired and new leaded; and this fine old church now stands revealed in all its pristine stately beauty, very little different from what it was when the voices of the sisters behind their screen could be heard chanting their offices. And visions of Constantine and S. Helena, Roman, Saxon, Norman, and Mediæval London, Tudor tyranny, Laudian revival, Puritanical neglect, the Plague and the Fire, all come crowding around one and fill this old place with their memories. "We have heard with our ears, and our fathers have told us, the noble works Thou didst in their days and in the old time before them." Laus Deo S. Helena.

S. MARY ABCHURCH WITH S. LAWRENCE POUNTNEY.

By E. GUY DAWBER.

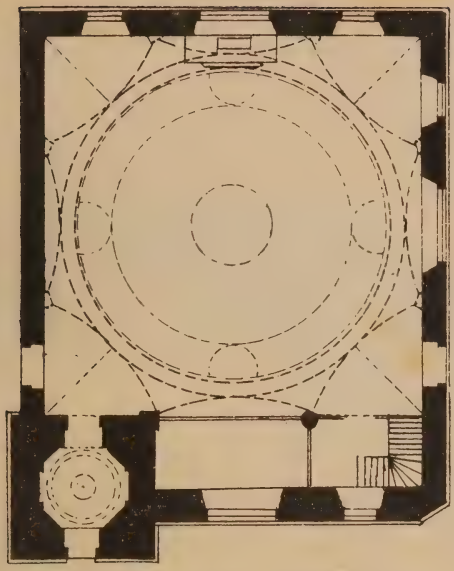
This church originally was in the gift of the Prior and Convent of S. Mary Overy, but from them it passed to the neighbouring College of Corpus Christi, founded in the Church of S. Lawrence Pountney. At the suppression of the monasteries it came to the Crown, and was given to Archbishop Parker, who gave it, in 1568, to Corpus Christi College at Cambridge. The original Church of S. Lawrence Pountney, or Poultney, which was consumed in the Great Fire, was not rebuilt, and was incorporated with the present one we see.

There is nothing of beauty or artistic interest in the exterior, if we except the tower, which can hardly be considered one of Wren's successes. It is of simple red brick, with stone dressings surmounted by a lead-covered spire 140 feet in height.

The interior, however, is strikingly beautiful, and the richness of the decorations combine to render it a very storehouse of seventeenth century Art. Here we see the work of three of the greatest artists of their day—Sir C. Wren, the architect, Sir James Thornhill, the painter, and Grinling Gibbons, the wood-carver; and the three, working together, have left us a standing monument to their ability.

Mr. Birch tells us, in his very beautiful work on the City Churches, that it receives its distinguishing title from its position on the ground rising very rapidly from the river, for in old records it is often met with as "Upchurch," which has been corrupted to "Abchurch."

The plan, which is somewhat similar to S. Swithin's, is



PLAN OF ST. MARY ABCHURCH.

ST. MARY ABCHURCH—SECTION.

St. Mary Abchurch. North West Corner.

most interesting, being almost a square of 65 feet by 60 feet, and without pillars, except for the one at the west end, set in line with the tower, which projects into the church at the north-west angle, and leaves the rest of the space free for the treatment of the dome, which covers the whole of the internal area.

This is carried by pendentives springing from Corinthian pilasters and corbels, from eight points in the circle. These pendentives are arched between each springing, to allow of the insertion of circular windows, and are groined back into the angles of the square. From the top of the arches there is a bold circular cantilever cornice, from which springs the great dome, pierced with oval lights on all four sides.

It is painted by Sir James Thornhill, and though the subjects are difficult to make out, yet the rich colouring makes a very beautiful and harmonious ceiling. The lower range between the openings are probably the Christian virtues and graces, with shells and heavy festoonings, treated in a decorative manner, and in the upper portion the Heavenly host adoring the name of Jehovah at the summit.

The east wall is filled with three windows, the centre one of which is covered by a lofty oak altar-piece. The south side has a similar arrangement, but here the central one is glazed and the south-western one formed into a door, which has a very beautiful carved oak case; another being opposite, on the north side.

Across the west end, separating the vestry from the church and under the gallery, is a panelled oak screen, with another beautiful door-case, with an arched head, but more simple in treatment. The front of the gallery is a fine example of moulded and carved panel work; and I should like to draw your particular attention to the very beautiful series of pierced and carved panels in the upper parts of the seats, which are of excelling beauty.

The seats in the body of the church and in the chancel have been cut down and made up out of the old material, but at the west end and along the north side the original

seating can be seen. The church is panelled all round to a height of eleven feet; and here it is well to emphasise the way in which Wren employed his materials to the best advantage. The oak is always English, well selected, for the seats and fittings; the plaster-work rich and varied, and crisply and vigorously modelled; and the carving always admirably executed and designed for the exact place it has to fill—notice the panels, etc.

The great feature is the eastern altar-piece, quite the glory of the church, and very magnificently carved and treated. All the beautiful festoon and wreath work is unquestionably from the hands of Grinling Gibbons, and as fine as anything he has ever executed; and Sir Jas. Thornhill was said to have himself painted the fruit and flowers after Nature—a very doubtful compliment to Gibbons!

The pulpit, with its sounding-board and original staircase, though similar in design to others of Wren's, yet merits the most careful attention, and the font cover in the little Baptistry under the gallery especially so. This has a carved octagonal base, upon which stands a four-sided pedestal, with niches on each side containing statuettes of the four Evangelists, crowned by a pyramidal roof, ending in a circular finial, which screws up and down as required. The sword and mace-bearers in wrought iron and the quaint alms-boxes should also be noticed.

The paving in the church is modern, but in the Baptistry you can see the original black and white marble so characteristic of Wren's work.

The church was finished in 1686.

S. STEPHEN'S, WALBROOK.

By E. GUY DAWBER.

This is the third church of that name and locality. The first, according to Dugdale, stood on the west side of the "Brook;" the second, built in 1429, on the east side, on ground left for that purpose by William Standen, Lord Mayor of London, in 1392; and the third, the one we now see, was built upon the same site, from the designs of Sir Christopher Wren.

It was one of the earliest erected after the Great Fire, the first stone being laid on October 16th, 1672, and was finished, with the exception of the tower, in 1678.

Hidden away as this church is, Wren concentrated all his efforts externally on the tower and spire, upon which he lavished all his care—for the probability is that the tower was so hemmed in with houses at the time it was built that only the upper portion could be seen.

Like S. Mary, Abchurch, this belongs to a type quite distinct from the other city churches, in that they both possess a dome and a large central area plan.

The first church rebuilt after the fire in 1666 was S. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside, begun in 1671; next was S. Stephen's, Walbrook; followed in the same year by S. Michael, Cornhill, and S. Mary at Hill.

These four form a group representative of types of plan and arrangement that are most interesting, and, after S. Paul's Cathedral, S. Stephen's may be considered Wren's masterpiece.

The plan is very simple, combining the Early Basilican plan with the central dome carried on an octagon. The ceilings over the chancel and nave and short transepts are

barrel-vaulted, and those of the aisles flat. The dome is carried on eight columns, not exactly on the points of an octagon, but so adjusted as to give the requisite proportions to the several aisles, the centre being the widest and the two outer ones the narrowest; indeed, the whole proportions are most harmonious, and the interior is one of the most charming that Wren ever conceived.

The dome is 45 feet in diameter, is hemi-spherical and constructed of timber, and is surmounted by a lantern-light in the crown. It is coffered horizontally into four compartments, divided vertically by bands; the panels of modelled plaster-work in relief, though rather coarse in detail, are very vigorously executed. The groined ceiling over the nave is divided by a band of bold scroll-work, and at the intersection is a finely-modelled flower.

The columns, of the Corinthian order, are exquisitely proportioned, and support an enriched entablature. They originally stood on octagonal pedestals, panelled in oak to the height of the old pews; but when these were removed the bases were replaced by the existing stone square ones.

The oak panelling around the church, containing the arms of the Grocers' Company, the patrons of the living, the altar-screen, organ-case and gallery are all very richly executed and carved. The organ, built by England in 1675, occupies nearly the whole west end, and with its gallery and supporting columns forms a very rich and beautifully-designed composition.

The font is of white marble and is surmounted by a wonderful oak cover, beautifully carved in panels, wreaths, and cherubs' heads, terminating with an ogee-shaped top, around the base of which are grouped eight small figures.

The pulpit also has festoons of fruit and flowers and a canopied sounding-board, with angels bearing wreaths.

In the old framed print hanging at the west end of the church, by Samuel Wale, it will be noticed that it was drawn before the organ and screen under it were built, and the

St. Stephen's, Walbrook. N.E. Corner of Church.

St. Stephen's, Walbrook. Reredos and Altar Rails.

plan shows two doorways on the north and south sides of the nave, which are now walled up.

The two doorways at the east end, on either side of the altar, are evidently later insertions, and it is probably fair to conjecture that the canopies and door-cases now in front of them were removed from their original doorways in the nave when these latter were closed.

Timbs, in his *Curiosities of London*, has much that is interesting to say about this church—amongst other things, that in the parish accounts there is an entry that upon its completion "a hogshead of claret was presented to the architect, and twenty guineas to his lady;" and also that Pendleton, the celebrated Vicar of Bray, subsequently became rector of S. Stephen's, Walbrook; that Sir John Vanbrugh, the architect and dramatist, is buried here, in the family vault; and that during the repairs to the church, in 1850, over 4,000 coffins were found beneath the floor, covered with brickwork and concrete to prevent the escape of the noxious effluvia.

S. Stephen's serves also for the parish of S. Benet Sherehog, and on the north side of S. Pancras Lane is a small enclosed piece of ground, with a stone on an adjoining house, inscribed "Before the dreadful fire, anno 1666, here stood the parish church, S. Bennet Sherehog."

West's painting of the Martyrdom of S. Stephen, presented in 1779 by the then rector, Dr. Wilson, was removed in 1850 from over the altar to its present position.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society,

At the Annual Summer Meeting in London,

July 11th to 16th, 1898.

The Twenty-second Annual Summer Meeting of the Society was held in London, and as this was the first time the Society has visited the capital, it was thought that a week would be necessary to do justice to the occasion. The Rev. W. Bazeley, the Hon. General Secretary, had therefore drawn up a long and interesting programme, in which five days were devoted to the antiquities in and near London, while the sixth was to be occupied in visiting Silchester and the Museum at Reading. The Local Committee was composed of the following gentlemen:—Sir John Dorington, Bart., M.P., Chairman; W. H. Seth-Smith, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., Secretary; C. R. Ashbee, Esq., Sir Henry Barkly, K.C.B., G.C.M.G., Rev. S. E. Bartleet, M.A., F.S.A., Charles Bathurst, Esq., His Honour Judge Baylis, Rev. William Bazeley, M.A., George M. Birch, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., T. B. Bravender, Esq., G. M. Currie, Esq., Rev. W. H. Silvester Davies, M.A., E. Guy Dawber, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., Walter Derham, Esq., M.A., F.G.S., Thomas Dyer-Edwardes, Esq., G. Laurence Gomme, Esq., E. Sidney Hartland, Esq., W. H. St. John Hope, Esq., M.A., Rev. W. C. Howell, M.A., F. A. Hyett, Esq., R. A. S. Macalister, Esq., M.A., Rev. Donald S. McClean, Ralph Nevill, Esq., W. P. W. Phillimore, Esq., Theophilus

PITT, Esq., ERSKINE POLLOCK, Esq., Q.C., Rev. J. W. E. ROBBINS, D.D., Rev. J. W. ROBBINS, B.A., Rev. Sir BORRADAILE SAVORY, Bart., MILL STEPHENSON, Esq., B.A., F.S.A., CHRISTOPHER TURNER, Esq., and Major-General VIZARD, of whom Mr. Bathurst, Mr. Macalister, the Rev. J. W. E. Robbins, and Mr. Turner kindly consented to act as stewards. To the exertions of this Committee the undoubted success of the meeting was in a large measure due. The programme contained, as usual, some most interesting notes and illustrations of the places visited, and some of these are reproduced in this account of the *Transactions*. For the compilation of these notes the Society is indebted to the Hon. General Secretary, who was assisted by Mr. Bathurst, Mr. Guy Dawber, Mr. Macalister, and Mr. Kennedy-Skipton.

The party which left Gloucester and Bristol on the morning of July 11th included the following members and associates:—Rev. WILLIAM BAZELEY, Mr. GEORGE NORMAN, Miss TUKE-TYLOR, Mr. and Mrs. G. M. CURRIE, Mr. ALFRED HENRY PAUL, Miss R. C. MORGAN, Miss L. HOLMES, Mr. G. B. WITTS, Miss SIBYL WITTS, Miss VAVASOUR, Mrs. GOODEVE, Miss BALGUY, Miss G. BALGUY, Miss PENGELLY, Mr. F. F. FOX, Mr. JOHN LATIMER, Professor and Mrs. A. H. CHURCH, Mr. FRANCIS WERE, Rev. W. T. BLATHWAYT, Rev. W. E. BLATHWAYT, Rev. Canon and Mrs. HARDING, Mrs. G. H. WOLLASTON, Mr. C. T. DAVIS, Mr. E. H. PERCIVAL, Miss F. M. KING, Colonel L. BLATHWAYT, Miss BLATHWAYT, Mr. and Mrs. H. C. BARSTOW, Mr. and Mrs. W. MARGETSON, Mr. F. R. V. WITTS, Miss S. V. WITTS, Miss M. V. WITTS, Miss F. V. WITTS, Miss G. RICHARDSON, Mr. A. J. M. BALL, Miss ATKINSON, Mr. J. D. B. TRENFIELD, Mr. C. E. GAEL, Mr. W. S. MOXLEY, Rev. F. E. BROOME WITTS, Mrs. B. WITTS, Miss B. WITTS, Miss WOODROFFE, Miss EDITH B. WITTS, Miss AGNES B. WITTS, Mr. W. S. and Mrs. WELLS, Miss L. WELLS, Colonel ARCHER, R.E., Rev. R. C. L. BLOSSE, Rev. W. H. S. DAVIES, Mrs. S. DAVIES, Mr. THOMAS SHERWOOD SMITH, Mr. CHARLES

SCEARS, Mr. G. E. LLOYD BAKER, Miss LLOYD BAKER, Miss N. LLOYD BAKER, Mr. A. T. and Mrs. PLAYNE, Mr. H. W. and Mrs. BRUTON, Mr. ALBAN HEAD, Mr. A. W. and Mrs. CRAWLEY-BOEVEY, Rev. C. W. and Miss BARCLAY, Mr. and Mrs. A. F. LANGLEY, Rev. WILLIAM EMERIS, Mr. JOHN HENRY MASTER, Mr. CHARLES G. MASTER, Rev. and Mrs. A. C. JENNINGS, Rev. and Mrs. W. C. HOWELL, Surgeon-Major-General CAMPBELL FRASER, Deputy-Surgeon-General and Mrs. LANDALE, General, Mrs. and Miss ELLIOT, Rev. J. S. and Miss DAVIES, Mr. S. H. SWAYNE, Mr. M. H. MEDLAND, Dr. and Mrs. OSCAR CLARKE, Miss WHITE, Mr. and Mrs. E. HARTLAND, Hon. Mrs. and Miss CAMPBELL, Mr. CHRISTOPHER TURNER, Mr. F. J. TARR, Mr. and Mrs. JAMES BRUTON, Rev. D. S. M'CLEAN, Mr. F. J. CULLIS, Major-General VIZARD, Rev. J. L. TUDOR, Mr. J. E. PRITCHARD, Rev. J. W. ROBBINS, Mr. and Mrs. CHRISTOPHER BOWLY, Mr. RICHARD CRIPPS, Mr. and Mrs. H. K. CRIPPS, Miss K. CRIPPS, Mr. and Mrs. E. S. HARTLAND, Mr. G. M. BIRCH, Miss EFFIE BROWN, Mr. and Mrs. R. GROVES-HARRIS, Mr. and Mrs. R. H. WARREN, Mrs. E. RIDER COOK, Mr. W. GEORGE, Mr. C. H. STANTON, Mr. J. MEDLAND, Mr. E. H. DANCEY, Rev. D. L. PITCAIRN, Mr. W. H. ARMITAGE, Mr. and Mrs. J. S. and Miss COLLETT, Mr. W. H. and Mrs. SETH-SMITH, Rev. W. J. ALSTON, Mr. H. S. KENNEDY-SKIPTON, Mr. T. S. ELLIS, Mrs. WILLIAM PLAYNE, Miss MEINERTZHAGEN, Mr. and Mrs. JAMES BAKER, Mr. G. S. BLAKEWAY, Mr. J. A. MATTHEWS, Miss HOLLAND, Mr. and Mrs. E. G. DAWBER, Miss COCKSHOTT, Mr. W. C. GRIST, Mr. J. MELHUISH, Dr. J. BEDDOE, Mr. R. A. S. MACALISTER, Mr. CAMPBELL, Mr. CHARLES BATHURST, Mr. ST. CLAIR BADDELEY, Mr. and Mrs. H. B. MCCALL, Mrs. PARSONS, Baroness and the Hon. Miss GRAY, Sir BROOK KAY, Mrs. and Miss BRODHURST, Mr. DYER EDWARDES, Mr. JOHNSTONE-VAUGHAN, Mrs. COULSON, Miss ROSS, Mrs. CHARLES SCEARS, Mr. V. R. PARKINS, Miss DOWNES, Miss DODDS, and Mr. T. PITT *(Western Daily Press)*.

MONDAY, JULY 11th.

THE OPENING MEETING.

At 3 o'clock the Society met in the Hall of the Brewers' Company in Addle Street—as its name suggests, "the street of the nobles," but now a narrow, busy thoroughfare connecting Wood Street with Aldermanbury, and running parallel to London Wall on the north and Gresham Street and Cheapside on the south.

The Brewers' Company, like other such mediæval guilds, owes its origin to the need of combination in order to obtain commercial privileges and freedom from extortion from needy and rapacious kings.

Henry VI. granted the Company a charter in 1438, and within thirty years it was second to none in power and wealth, supplying no less than 210 men-at-arms to the City Watch. In 1515 it ranked as the fourteenth company. Elizabeth granted three charters—in 1560, 1563, and 1579—placing all the breweries in the City and within a circumference of two miles under the supervision of the Master and Wardens.

In 1660, and again in 1684, the Brewers surrendered their charter, prior to their re-incorporation by the equally tyrannical Charles II. and James II.

The powers of the Company have become more and more restricted in late years, but, in the days before the licensing laws became as stringent as we know them, this Company must have given London a security against adulteration of the national drink which it could not otherwise have obtained.

The Brewers possess an endowed Grammar School at Aldenham, and administer generously an annual income of some £17,500. Unlike many of the other London guilds, they admit none but brewers to the freedom of the Company.

An account of the Hall will be found in Mr. Martineau's paper, p. 163 of this volume.

The members having assembled in the Hall, the chair was taken by the President, Mr. G. B. WITTS, who began the proceedings by stating that as the Society was twenty-one years old last year, it was thought that a visit to London would be a most suitable way to celebrate the attainment of its majority. He then called on the Hon. General Secretary (the Rev. W. Bazeley) to read the Council report for last year.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE BRISTOL AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY FOR 1897–8.

THE Council present the following report to the members of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society for the past year:—

There are at present 330 annual members, 82 life members, and three honorary members on the Society's list, giving a total strength of 415 members.

The income of the Society for the year ending 31st December, 1897, was £286 4s. 3d., and the expenditure £237 7s. 4d. The balance in the Treasurer's hands on the 1st of January, 1898, was £618 10s., as against £567 13s. 1d. on the 1st of January in the preceding year. Besides this balance, on which the cost of the Society's *Transactions* for 1897, the *Illustrated List of Church Plate*, and the *Index* to Volumes I.–XX. must be considered a charge, the Society has a funded capital of £432 3s. 8d. invested in Consols, representing the fees paid by the life members.

During the last year the Society has held two general meetings—an annual summer meeting at Stow-on-the-Wold and a spring meeting at Yate. The annual summer meeting at Stow-on-the-Wold, on July 27th to 29th, included excursions to Icomb, Upper Slaughter, and Lower Swell, on July 27th; to Bloxham, Broughton, and Adderbury, on the 28th; and to Shipton-under-Wychwood, Swinbrook, Asthall, and Burford, on the 29th. On the 7th of June last the annual spring meeting was held at Yate, and an excursion was made to Iron Acton, Yate Court, Horton, and Little Sodbury. The hearty thanks of the Council are due to all who entertained the Society, gave them permission to visit houses and churches of interest, and who acted as guides or read papers. Both meetings were considered to be interesting and successful, and the attendance was exceedingly good. The illustrated Notes appended to the programme were appreciated by the members who attended, and the Council have gladly authorised their continuance on the present occasion.

The Index to Volumes I.–XX. of the Society's *Transactions* has been undertaken by Mr. W. Jones, Librarian of the Cheltenham Public Library, and he is progressing rapidly with the work; the *List of Church Plate* is being edited conjointly by Mrs. Broome Witts and the Revs. Arthur Jennings and C. S. Taylor.

These two works will be presented to members who have paid their subscriptions for 1895–7. Vol. XX., part 1, of the Society's *Transactions* has been issued, and part 2 will be ready for issue before the end of this month. Another instalment of Gloucestershire records, printed by the British Record Society, will be issued with it.

The Council, in accordance with the resolution passed at the annual meeting, held at Stow-on-the-Wold last year, have presented the late editor of the Society's *Transactions* (the Rev. C. S. Taylor) with a fine copy of Sir William Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, and Mr. Taylor has expressed to the Council his gratitude to the Society for their gift.

The Library of the Society has been open for the use of the members during the last year on Tuesday afternoons, and one or both of the librarians have been in attendance. A new catalogue of the Society's books has been prepared by the librarians, and will be issued to members with Vol. XX., part 2. The Council regret that so little use is made of

the Society's books by the members. The Council have authorised the purchase of several valuable additions to the library, and the Rev. Arthur Jennings has presented *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Mid-Calder*, *The History of Northumberland*, and *Thomas Bates and the Kirklevington Shorthorns*. The Council will gladly accept gifts of works of reference on such branches of archæology as architecture, numismatics, topography, pottery, armour, and history.

The Council has subscribed for a copy of the *Index to Archæological Papers from 1682*, which is being prepared by Mr. G. M. Gomme; for Mr. Percy Rushden's *History of Chipping Campden;* for large and small paper copies of the *Bibliographer's Manual of Gloucestershire Literature;* for the *Records of Gloucester Cathedral*, &c.

The Council have exchanged a full set of the Society's *Transactions* for the publications of the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institute, U.S.A.

The Congress of Archæological Societies has held two sessions within the last year, and delegates from this Society have attended. The Council wishes to thank Mr. Charles Bathurst, who acted as one of the delegates of this Society on the 6th of July, for his careful report of the proceedings.

The principal matters which have come under the notice of the Congress are general indexes to societies' *Transactions*, a national catalogue of portraits, county bibliographies, a list of sculptured effigies, museum catalogues, and archæological county maps.

The Council of this Society heartily approve of the recommendations of the Congress, with regard to all these subjects, and desire to apply them to the work of this Society. The Index to the Society's *Transactions* is being prepared in strict accordance with the rules laid down by the Indexing Committee and adopted by the Congress. The Secretary of this Society has received various forms for scheduling and describing portraits, and will be very glad to supply a copy of each to the owners of collections or to those who are otherwise interested in the formation of a national catalogue of portraits.

The *Bibliographer's Manual of Gloucestershire Literature*, which was issued in 1896-7 by two members of the Society, fulfils all the requirements of the Congress. The Council, however, recommend that all who are interested in the literature of Bristol and Gloucestershire should make a report of any book or other printed work of local interest which has escaped the notice of these gentlemen (Mr. Hyett and the Rev. W. Bazeley), and should make an appendix of all similar printed matter that may have appeared subsequently to the issue of the *Manual*. The Council are also anxious that ancient MSS. bearing on the history of Bristol and Gloucestershire should be similarly indexed and described.

The Council await the issue of the *Handbook on Effigies*, promised by

the Congress to organise the preparation of a descriptive list of these interesting monuments. Two members of the Society have promised their assistance, and the Council would be glad to receive similar offers from others.

The Gloucester Museum has been for some time in a state of collapse, but this state of things, the Council is glad to learn, is not likely to continue. The Corporation of Gloucester are building a suite of spacious rooms, in one or more of which the local treasures of antiquity collected by the late Sir W. Guise, the late Mr. W. Lucy, the late Mr. Niblett, Mr. John Bellows, and other inhabitants of the city and county, will find a suitable abode. When this has been done, the Council will gladly offer any assistance to the Corporation in adding to the collection, and in cataloguing it after the method recommended by the Congress.

More than fifteen years ago the President of this Society, Mr. G. B. H. Witts, drew up an excellent *Archæological Map and Handbook of Gloucestershire*, which has been of the greatest use to the members of this Society and to others engaged in similar pursuits. The Council are now desirous that Mr. Witts should prepare a second edition of this work which would be uniform with the maps of other counties issued under the auspices of the Society of Antiquaries and approved by the Congress.

The Photographic Survey of Gloucestershire, though initiated by the Council in 1894, has not made much progress. A schedule of objects of archæological interest is asked for by photographers, and a leader, such as Warwickshire has been fortunate enough to find in Sir Benjamin Stone, is not yet forthcoming. The Council will do its best to prepare the schedule and find the leader.

The Council record with deep regret the loss by death of Mr. W. Lucy, for many years a Vice-President of this Society, of Mr. E. Whatley, the very able and energetic local Secretary of the Society at Cirencester, and several other members.

The Council have held five meetings during the last year, and have to thank the Mayor of Bristol for the use of the Grand Jury Room at Bristol, and the Committee of St. Edward's Hall, Stow-on-the-Wold, for the use of the Library of that excellent institution.

The Council desire to nominate for re-election the President of Council, the General Treasurer, the General Secretary, the Vice-Presidents, and the Local Secretaries.

The following members of Council retire in rotation, but are eligible for re-election: Rev. S. E. Bartleet, Rev. J. M. Hall, Messrs. G. S. Blakeway, H. Medland, and C. H. Dancey.

Mr. PERCIVAL, in proposing the adoption of the Report, said they had a good balance in hand, and that might be due to the fact that most of their meetings were conducted profitably.

Mr. BADDELEY seconded the resolution, which was adopted.

The CHAIRMAN referred feelingly to the death of Mr. W. Lucy, and said he had known him for many years, and knew the great interest which he took in the Society.

The re-election of members of the Council took place, and then

Mr. F. F. FOX proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Witts, the President. He said that Mr. Witts was known to them for many years as a most ardent archæologist, and one who contributed literary matters for their instruction; and now he had capped his other work by making a first-rate President.

Mr. CHRISTOPHER BOWLY seconded the resolution, and it having been put to the meeting by Sir BROOK KAY, was heartily carried.

The CHAIRMAN said he was glad that during his year of office the number of members had not diminished. They hoped to be pleased with their visit to London; but they had come there in the cause of science, and he hoped they would learn something, and that this would not be the last time they would pay a visit to London. He thought it added vitality to the Society to pay visits to places beyond its borders. His duty would now be to propose their new President; but he was sorry to say that Sir John Dorington was not there on account of the rather sudden death of his brother-in-law, Mr. Charles Murdoch, M.P. for Reading. He would now resign the chair, and ask Sir Brook Kay to take it.

This having been done, Mr. Witts was elected to retain the presidency until the latter end of the week, when they hoped to have Sir John Dorington present.

Mr. WITTS again took the chair, and read a letter which he had received from Sir John, in which he said the funeral of his brother-in-law was on the same day as their meeting, and he must ask him to state to the Society what had occurred; and as President-elect he would be obliged if he (Mr. Witts) would act as his deputy and undertake the duties of deputy till he came. He hoped to join the Society on some later day of the week. After finishing the letter, Mr. Witts said he was sure that everyone regretted the absence of Sir John and the cause of it. He might say with respect to the address which Sir John Dorington had prepared and forwarded the Council held a meeting, and it was unanimously considered that the address should not be read in his absence, as it would take a great deal of interest from it. He had suggested by letter to Sir John that he should read the address at a meeting held in the Temple on Friday afternoon.

The PRESIDENT then called on Mr. G. H. Birch, F.S.A., the Curator of the Soane Museum, to read his paper on "The London Churches of the 17th and 18th Centuries." This paper, which is taken from Mr. Birch's

large work, long out of print, has been reprinted, and may be found on p. 103 of this volume.

Mr. C. WELCH, F.S.A., the Librarian of the Guildhall Library, then gave an interesting account of the City Guilds.

The thanks of the Society were tendered to Mr. Birch and Mr. Welch for their papers, and a special vote of thanks was accorded to the Master and Wardens of the Brewers' Company, and their Clerk, Mr. William Higgins, for the use of the fine old Hall for the opening meeting. It was from this Company that the first of many offers of hospitality and help came, when the Society's intention to visit the Metropolis was made known. A paper on the Life of Richard Whittington, by Mr. H. S. Kennedy-Skipton, which was to have been read, was deferred, as the Society were due at the Mansion House.

RECEPTION AT THE MANSION HOUSE.

At five o'clock the party was warmly received at the Mansion House by the Lord Mayor and the Lady Mayoress, who kindly provided afternoon tea. Among the many interesting objects which were exhibited to the Society, the most noteworthy were the Pearl Sword (so-called from its scabbard being studded with pearls), said to have been presented by Queen Elizabeth when she opened the first Royal Exchange in 1571,—the Sword of State (date about 1680) which is borne inverted before the Sovereign or any of the Judges, but with the point upwards before the Lord Mayor on all other occasions of authority,—the Mace, which is of silver-gilt, and was made in 1735,—and a loving cup presented by Queen Elizabeth. Before leaving the Mansion House the president, Mr. WITTS, thanked the Lord Mayor for his kindness, to which the LORD MAYOR replied that he was very pleased to welcome the Society; the Rev. W. BAZELEY adding that the Lord Mayor had conferred, by his reception, a certain amount of prestige upon the Society's meeting.

GUILDHALL.

In the evening the Society met again at the Guildhall, and were received by Mr. W. Cooper, Alderman Sir Stuart Knill, and Mr. Welch. The Loan Collection of Pictures of the French School was first inspected, and then members proceeded to the Library, where they were heartily welcomed by the Chairman, Mr. WILLIAM COOPER, who asked them to inspect some of the Library treasures belonging to the ancient Corporation of the City of London.

Mr. CHAS. WELCH, the Librarian, then gave an interesting sketch of the Library, pointing out that the first mention of the Library occurs in a document dated 1425, preserved in the records of the Corporation.

"Item, the same day [to wit the 27th September, A° 4 Henry VI., 1425] it was granted by the said Mayor and Aldermen and Commonalty that the new House or Library, which the said executors [to wit of the testament of Richard Whitynton] and the executors of William Bury made near the Guildhall, and the custody of the same, together with the chambers built underneath the same, should be in the disposition and management of the said executors."

The connection of Whittington with the Library was, of course, of special interest to a Gloucestershire Society.

The building referred to was a separate structure, situated on the south side of the Guildhall Chapel. In a document of the time of Edward VI. it is spoken of as a "resorte of all students for their education in Divine Scriptures;" but about this time the Library was destroyed, for Stowe tells us that "Adjoyning to this chappell on south side was sometime a fayre and large librarie, furnished with bookes pertaining to the guildhall and colledge: these bookes (as it is said) were in the raigne of Edward the 6 sent for by Edward, Duke of Sommerset, Lord Protector, with promise to be restored shortly: men laded from thence three Carriers with them, but never returned. This librarie was builded by the executors of R. Whittington, and by William Burie: the armes of Whittington are placed on one side in the stone worke, and two letters, to wit, W and B for William Burie, on the other side: it is now lofted through, and made a store house for clothes." The Library thus ruthlessly destroyed was not reconstructed until 1824, when the present Library was founded on the initiative of Mr. Richard Lambert Jones. It is now rich in works of topography, and among other treasures can boast of the possession of an autograph signature of Shakespeare. It also possesses one of the only two copies known of the Map of London in the 16th century by Ralph Aggas. The earliest MS. is *Les Croniques de France jusques au Roy Charles VJ. de son nom.* Vellum. 1399, and the earliest printed book is the first Dutch version of the Bible. Delft, 1477.

Before leaving the Library, the PRESIDENT expressed the thanks of the Society to Mr. Cooper and Mr. Welch; and the Hon. General Secretary presented, on behalf of the Society, a copy of Smith's *Lives of the Berkeleys*, which was gratefully accepted. On proceeding to the Museum, Mr. Welch again kindly acted as guide, and pointed out the chief objects of interest, which include many relics of Roman London and some interesting old signs, chiefly carved in stone, which in many cases date back to the rebuilding of the city after the fire.

From the Museum the party passed through the Eastern Crypt, a most beautiful specimen of 15th century work. It is of the same date as the Great Hall above it, and has a vaulted roof, with ribs and bosses supported by clustered shafts of Purbeck marble, with round bases and caps.

In the Great Hall Mr. BADDELEY gave an account of this interesting building, which was begun in 1411. It was greatly injured in the Great Fire, and was afterwards almost entirely rebuilt. The present roof was erected in 1864.

Much interest was taken in the statues of Gog and Magog, carved by Richard Sanders, and presented to the Corporation by the Stationers' Company in 1708. The story of the giants is apparently due to Geoffrey of Monmouth, who in his *Historia Regum Britanniæ* relates that after Corineus, a gigantic ally of Brutus the Trojan, in the subjugation of Albion, had settled in Cornwall, he delighted in encountering the giants who abounded in that region. Among these was one detestable monster, Goemagot, twelve cubits high. After Corineus had got three of his ribs broken in the wrestling match between these two giants, Corineus hurled Goemagot into the sea, where he was dashed to pieces on the rocks. The details of the legend having probably been forgotten together with the name of one of the giants, the name of the other had apparently been divided between the two.

Mr. Baddeley next conducted the party to the Aldermen's Court, which, originally built in 1614, was rebuilt after the Fire by Christopher Wren between 1670 and 1689. The paintings were executed in 1727 by Sir James Thornhill. Before leaving this beautiful room the thanks of the Society were accorded, on the motion of the PRESIDENT, to the Corporation of the City of London and to Mr. Baddeley.

After visiting the old Council Chamber (built in 1777), which contains some interesting portraits, and the new Council Chamber, completed in 1814, the members dispersed to their homes.

TUESDAY, JULY 12TH.

The proceedings of the second day of the meeting began with a visit to St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, where the Society assembled at 9.30. Here they were welcomed by the Rector, the Rev. Sir Borradaile Savory, who, having read prayers, introduced to them Mr. Aston Webb, architect to the Restoration Committee. He said that his friend Mr. Webb had been carrying out work in that church for the past twelve or fifteen years, but he would probably not tell them one half of what he had done himself, and they must believe that a great deal more than he told them was owing to his care and skill in the treatment of the fabric.

ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT.

Mr. WEBB, having taken up a position near the west end of the church, said they were standing in a highly-favoured spot in London, as not so very long ago that part of the metropolis was covered by three great

foundations, of one of which he proposed to speak. The priory where they were was founded by Rahere, who lived in the time of Henry I., and in a witty court he was considered one of the wittiest. Henry lost his son and heir in the White Ship, and this sad occurrence for a time altered the whole character of the English court, so that devotion took the place of pleasure, and Rahere changed his course of life. About 1120 he went on a pilgrimage to Rome, and the tradition ran that while in that city he caught a fever, and while recovering he undertook that if ever he returned to England he would found a hospital. When convalescent he had a dream in which he was carried into the air by an animal with eight legs which threatened to drop him into an unfathomable pit. As he was in this perilous position St. Bartholomew was supposed to have come to his assistance, and the saint told him that if he built a church he would recover. He agreed to build a church and hospital when he returned to London, the saint promising that God would inhabit the church and hallow and glorify it, and that His eye would be open and His ear attentive day and night to all souls, and that every one who asked should receive a blessing. That blessing was believed by many pious persons in the parish to rest upon the church at the present time. Rahere fulfilled his promise, and a large space in Smithfield was granted to him. The hospital became great and flourishing, and over 150,000 people were every year relieved in sickness in St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Rahere joined the monks of the Augustinian order, and founded the church in which they were assembled. He lived to complete the portion of the church in which they stood, and became the first prior, continuing in office for thirty years. It was the oldest church in London, the chapel at the Tower, which was hardly a church, being about fifty years older.

Mr. Webb proceeded to describe the structure as Rahere had it carried out, and he illustrated his remarks by reference to a map suspended in front of the organ, Mr. G. H. Birch, curator of the Soane Museum, assisting him in pointing out the particular portions alluded to. Mr. Webb spoke of the different works which had been permitted to encroach upon the original holding, one of which was a fringe factory which overhung the altar. There was also a forge, and a transept was obscured by a covering of canvas. Fire destroyed some of the surroundings, but though they were burnt the structure of Rahere was left intact. The work of restoration, so much needed, was begun in the rectorate of the Rev. John Abiss. A large number of archæologists and others came to the church and discussed the best means of procedure. First they lowered the floor to the present level, and in the operation it was found that the space disclosed was full of bones, which were reverently removed and buried in the churchyard. After the death of Mr. Abiss, who was uncle of the patron, Mr. Phillips, the Rev. William Panckridge was appointed rector,

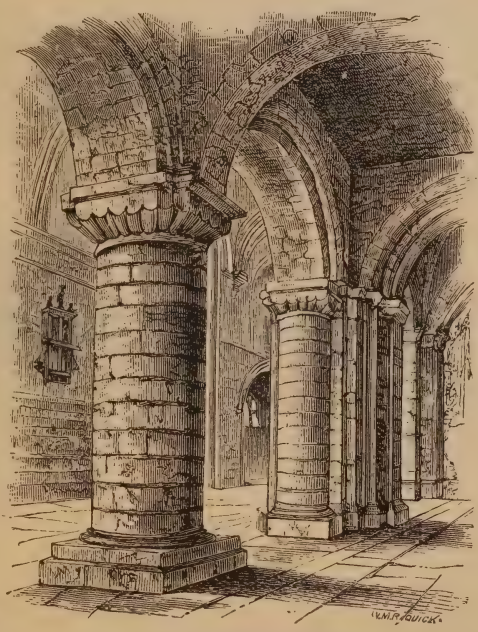
and he recommenced operations. The fringe industry was leaving England, and the proprietor of the factory adjoining the church was in serious straits, so that he was glad to dispose of his property. Mr. Webb stated that at this time he was asked to take in hand the restoration, and Mr. Phillips agreed to purchase the factory and build a portion of the apse in the church. Directly they began to take down the plank wall which had been built at the east end, they found the tracing of the great windows which had been put in in the 14th century, and the original Norman triforium. Schools had been built on a portion of the spot occupied by the fringe factory. Then the forge was acquired and pulled down, and the south transept was erected. The stone used was of a character to tone down the magnificent ancient work against which it abutted.

Mr. Webb pointed out a peculiarity in the structure, that pointed and circular arches, both of Norman date, existed, and remarked that there were theories started concerning these features, but the matter was not satisfactorily settled. The work of restoration was carried on by Mr. Phillips, the patron, with increased vigour, and they were all delighted to think he was there to see the completion of the operations. A screen which they noticed below the organ at the west end was in memory of the late rector, the Rev. W. Panckridge, and the organ case was a gift, the instrument itself being an old one and brought there from St. Stephen's, Walbrook. Its tone was good, but it had not modern improvements. The last thing undertaken under the rectorship of the Rev. Sir Borradaile Savory was the restoration of the Lady Chapel, where had been the fringe factory. As considerable criticism had been passed on the restoration of old buildings, he might remark that they had not removed a single stone of the original work, and though a great deal had been done there, he mentioned that with some pride. They had no stained glass or other ornaments, though offers were made of them, as they desired to retain the severity and simplicity of the Norman work.

When Mr. Webb's address, which was listened to with much interest, was concluded, the party proceeded to examine the church, which is entered from Smithfield Square by a time-worn gateway with pointed arch enriched with round hollow mouldings and dog-tooth ornament, showing it to be of the 13th century, or Early English style of architecture. The gloomy grave-yard in which we now stand is the site of the Early English nave, built about 1250. Here several houses have been built, and as Mr. Webb remarked there is little chance of the nave being restored. On the south side of the churchyard may be seen the base of Early English pillars. The fine western porch was designed by Mr. Aston Webb. The church, as we see it to-day, is but a fragment of what was one of the largest monasteries in London. It consists of one bay of the original nave, constructed about 1150; a crossing above which once rose a lantern tower,

destroyed in 1630; two shallow transepts, both re-built in recent times; a choir with ambulatory encircling its north and south sides and east end; and a Lady Chapel. The ground plan of the choir is now much the same as when completed in the middle of the 12th century, but the superstructure has passed through many changes.

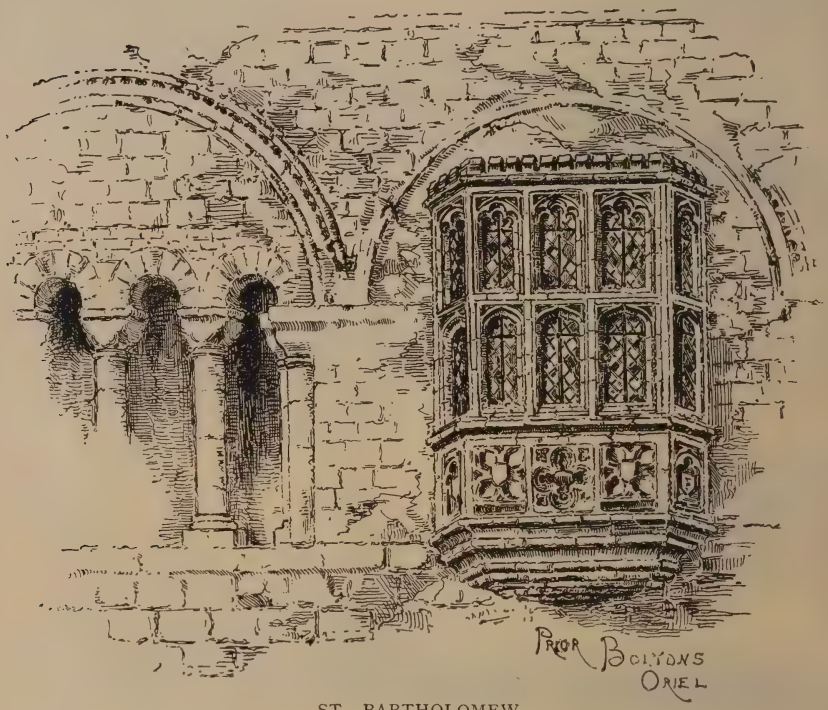
The choir, east of the crossing, the ambulatory and apse, were begun and completed by Rahere, the first Prior, 1123–1144. The apse, however, is a restoration; for in the beginning of the 15th century, when the Lady Chapel was erected, a straight wall was built across the chord of the apse, *i.e.*, at the fourth bay east of the crossing, and the apse itself was destroyed. Moreover, the present Perpendicular clerestory was substituted for the Norman clerestory; the roof also was taken down and the present high-pitched roof erected in its place. Side chapels were also constructed, of which little remains. After Rahere's death, in 1144, his successor, Prior Thomas, appears to have built the crossing, transepts, and first bay of the nave in a style similar to Rahere's work. In the early part of the 15th century the Norman shafts on the south side of the crossing were cut away and the capitals were left as corbels. Of the four arches of the crossing two are round and two are pointed. The purer Norman style was becoming transitional Norman at the time of their construction.



ST. BARTHOLOMEW.
AISLE OF NORMAN CHOIR.

On the south side of the church were the cloisters with the domestic buildings of the monastery clustered around them: in the east walk the chapter house, dormitory and slype; on the west the Prior's lodging; and on the north the frater or refectory, butteries and kitchen. The church has been often restored; the earlier restorations in 1410 and 1789 were

destructive—the later ones of 1823, 1863, and 1885–1898, have been carefully executed with a view to preserving or reproducing original work. Some may doubt the wisdom of Professor Hayter Lewis' work in removing the straight eastern termination of 1410, and attempting to replace the apse of 1123, but all must rejoice in the rescue of the Lady Chapel after three



ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

centuries of desecration, and its reunion to the church as one of its most beautiful features.

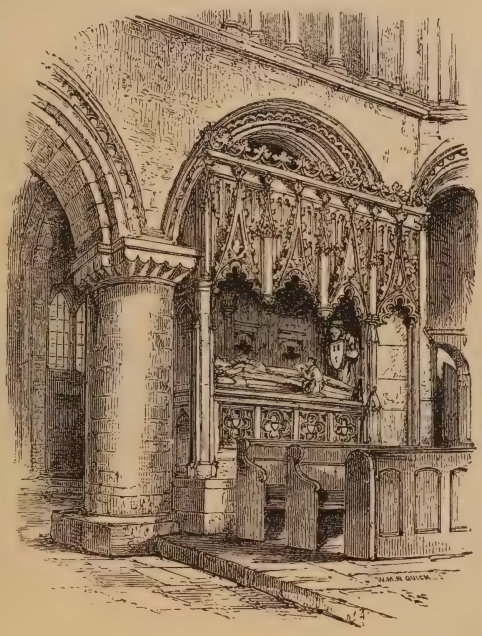
The most interesting details in the choir and ambulatory are Rahere's tomb, erected in the 15th century, and Prior Bolton's oriel window, inserted in the south triforium, 1506–1532. This window is not unlike that at Malmesbury which the Society noticed during their visit in 1891. There the Prior worshipped in private during the service, or the Sacristan watched the altar light.

The tombs of Robert Chamberlayne, 1615, with two angels drawing

NOTE.—The illustrations of St. Bartholomew's Church and of the Charterhouse are printed from blocks presented to the Society in 1879 by Mr. Augustus J. C. Hare. See *Trans.*, III. 292, and *Walks in London* I., pp. 143-6.

back the curtain of a tent in which the ambassador is kneeling in armour, of Ryecroft, who edited the polyglot bible, of James Rivers, with his bust, and of Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer to Queen Elizabeth and founder of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, are worthy of notice. The Hospital contained another church dedicated to St. Bartholomew and built by Rahere; but it was badly restored by Dance in 1789, and was rebuilt in 1823.

When the party visited the Lady Chapel, Mr. Webb directed attention to the care taken in retaining old stone in the restoration. He also pointed out a window still blocked up, which, if a house adjoining could be secured, would be opened. He remarked that they had spent £17,000 in securing properties around the church, and about £33,000 had been spent on the last restoration. It was expensive securing property in the City of London. There is a beautiful iron screen at the entrance to the Lady Chapel, which was a memorial to a lady who was interested in the church. When they returned to the body of the church, Mr. Webb spoke of Rahere's tomb, with figures of two little angels reading a Psalm, and angels at the foot holding the arms of the Monastery of St. Bartholomew. The canopy work was of considerably later date. During the restoration in 1866 some workmen in the dinner hour improperly opened the tomb from the back, and then, without the consent of anyone in authority, opened the coffin. The remains of Rahere were disclosed as represented in the effigy on the tomb. The coffin was sealed up, and had never since been disturbed. Although the action of these men was wholly unauthorised, it settled the question of the remains being in the tomb. Before leaving the church, Mr. G. B. Witts returned the thanks of the Society to the Rev.



ST. BARTHOLOMEW. TOMB OF RAHERE.

Sir Borradaile Savory and Mr. Aston Webb, and said if anyone wanted to know how to restore an old church he could not do better than come to St. Bartholomew's.

From St. Bartholomew's the Society proceeded to

THE CHARTERHOUSE,

the large party of ladies and gentlemen attracting much attention from passers-by as they passed along the crowded thoroughfares. They entered the Hospital from the north side of Charterhouse Square by a

From a photograph by Mr. Jas. Baker.

THE CHARTERHOUSE.

lofty doorway with overhanging shelf, supported by two lions. Opposite on entering is a brick gateway, part of the old monastery, to which was affixed a dismembered limb of the last prior, Houghton, put to death by Henry VIII. at Tyburn. The inner court on the right contains the Master's house and the dining-hall, now used by the pensioners, but once the Guesten Hall of the monastery, and later the banqueting hall of the Dukes of Northumberland and Norfolk. The great staircase, the minstrel's gallery, the governor's room, the great fireplace, were probably all the work of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, who in 1565 bought the Charterhouse, and in 1572 was executed for treason, as was his

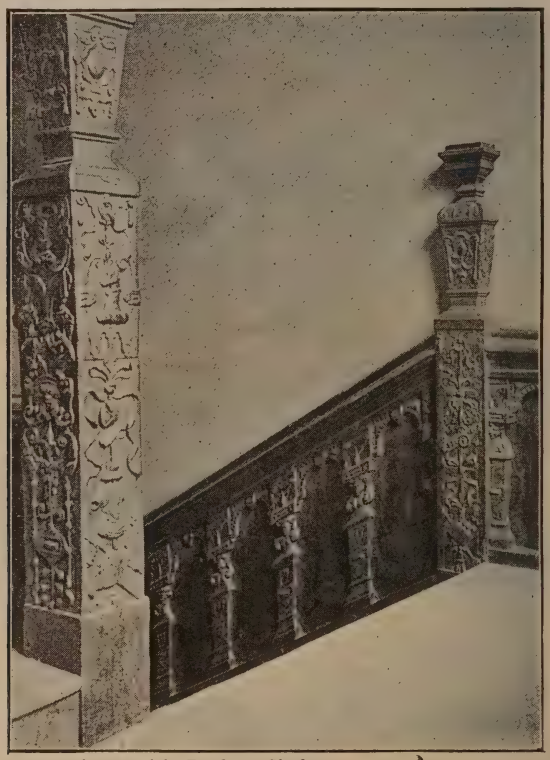
predecessor, the Duke of Northumberland. Through a door in the east wall of the master's court is a cloister containing monuments to Thackeray, Leech, Sir Henry Havelock, and other old Carthusians. Thence entrance is afforded to Brook Hall, in which Brook, master of the hospital during the Commonwealth, was confined by Cromwell. Another door leads to the chapel, of which the entrance is ancient; the rest is Jacobean. Here is a monument to Edward Law, Earl of Ellenborough, by Chantrey. The old brick cloister of the monks extends along one side of the boys' playground; on another side are the modern buildings of the Merchant Taylors' School, which in 1872 superseded the old Charterhouse School. It was a peculiarity of the Carthusian system that the monks lived in separate houses, each having a little garden of his own. To the right, passing from the first court into the

THE CHARTERHOUSE. WASH-HOUSE.

two new quadrangles, is Washhouse Court, a portion of the old monastery. In 1361 Sir Walter Manny laid the foundation of a monastery for Carthusian monks on a piece of ground just outside the City boundaries, which had been previously used as a burial place for victims of the plague in 1348. The name Charterhouse is an English corruption of the French Chartreuse, it being the custom of the order to name their houses after their first house at La Chartreuse in Savoy. The chapel was consecrated in 1371. The monastery consisted of a large square, now the school playground, around which were some twenty-five separate houses or cells for the monks, the chapter-house, chapel, laundry, prior's lodging, and frater. The buildings passed through various hands, and brought

death and misery to more than one of their proprietors, till Mr. Thomas Sutton purchased them of the Earl of Suffolk in 1611, and founded his hospital for eighty men and forty boys. In 1872 the Charterhouse School was removed to its new quarters at Godalming, where it has increased threefold. The vacant premises were bought by the Company of Merchant Taylors for their school, formerly located in Suffolk Lane, and the new buildings now accommodate 500 boys.

It was refreshing to find such a spacious recreation ground in a busy part of the metropolis; and the stillness inside the enclosure contrasted strongly with the noise from the traffic of the busy streets, so



From a photograph by Dr. Oscar Clarke.

CHARTERHOUSE. STAIRCASE.

that the visitors were reminded of the stir of the great Babel and did not feel the crowd. The preacher at the Charterhouse, the Rev. H. V. Le Bas, received the party, and when they had repaired to the Guesten Hall of the Monastery, which afterwards became the banqueting hall,

he gave some particulars of the structure. He said he felt almost ashamed in showing them round, for this reason, that within ten days, under the auspices of the Rev. W. Bazeley, he made the acquaintance of the magnificent Cathedral of Gloucester, and he had seen Tewkesbury Abbey and Deerhurst Priory. One thing which made them exaggerate the importance of Charterhouse was that it was to be found in the centre of London, and there were few antiquities in London, either in the centre or in the suburbs. He asked them to remember two dates, 1371 and 1537, the dates of the consecration of the chapel and of the expulsion of

From a photograph by Mr. H. Medland.

THE CHARTERHOUSE. THE HALL.

the monks. For seventy or eighty years after the monks were expelled the great cloister was used as a garden. When Sutton founded his hospital and school it was used as a playground for the boys. The exact boundaries of the cloister were still clearly defined. It had never been built on, and though the covered arcades had been pulled down and the houses of the monks were represented only by the remains of two doorways, with the aid of the old plan it would not be very difficult to say exactly where each building stood. The hall was built by the monks about 1510 for their guests. He thought at first the hall was not so

lofty and possibly not so long, and when first built there was no fireplace; otherwise they could see great part of their buildings.

In going through the structure, the Rev. H. V. Le Bas directed attention to one spacious room which possessed historical interest. He spoke of Royal visits to the Charterhouse, and said when Elizabeth was called to the Throne from Hatfield she stayed at Charterhouse for three or four days, as it was then outside the City boundaries. James I. came there from Scotland and remained a few days. A cannon and a barrel carved on the mantelpiece attracted some attention. They commemorated the fact that Sutton was Master of the Ordnance.

The chapel presented some features of special interest. Mr. Le Bas described how the fathers and lay brothers were accustomed to take their seats. The ordinary laity were only admitted to a gallery by means of a staircase outside the building, which still exists. There was no name to the chapel, as Carthusians never admitted the public to their services, and women were not allowed at all in their buildings —a statement which amused the many ladies now present. The communion table, in carved oak of 1614, was an excellent example, though some mischievous person had mutilated the date carved thereon; and the pulpit is of the same date. The Rev. W. Bazeley thanked the Rev. H. Le Bas for the information which he had imparted, and the latter, in response, regretted they had not more time to spend at the Charterhouse, for he had been attempting to pour a quart into a pint bottle by giving them facts concerning the place in the hour at their disposal.

The next place to be visited was

THE PRIORY OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM, CLERKENWELL,

which previous to its dissolution by Henry VIII. occupied a large tract of ground now bounded on the east by St. John's Street, on the west by Red Lion Street, on the north by Clerkenwell Green and Aylesbury Street, and on the south by Berkeley Street and Passing Alley. The only existing remains are, the choir of the Priory Church, rebuilt in 1504, and sadly mutilated and debased by successive alterations, the interesting crypt beneath the church, and the southern entrance, known as St. John's Gate. Bases of the early 15th century pillars are said to remain in the church; but there is little else of archæological interest. The crypt, which has been frequently engraved, comprises a central avenue with aisles, and is of the same length as the church above it. From Hollar's view, taken in 1661, this crypt appears to have been formerly above ground. The central portion of the crypt consists of four bays, two Transitional Norman and two Early English. The ribs of the east bays spring from triple clustered columns with capitals and bases. Much of this is now hidden by clay.

A paper on the architectural features of the church, by Mr. Charles R. Baker King, will be found on p. 168 of this volume.

A bird's-eye view of St. John's Priory, restored in imagination, is given in Newton's *London in the Olden Time*, 1855.

The dedication of the original church took place in 1185. After the destruction of the priory in 1381 by Wat Tyler and his rebel horde, a new church was built over the old crypt in the Perpendicular style. After the dissolution of the priory, the main part of the church was purposely destroyed with gunpowder, and the stone was employed in building Somerset House in the Strand. The crypt acquired some notoriety in 1762 in connection with the Cock Lane ghost. Dr. Johnson, as he tells us, was induced by a girl called Parsons, the daughter of the clerk, to visit the crypt, with two friends, at night in the expectation that the ghost of "Scratching Fanny" would knock on her own coffin. It is needless to add that they were disappointed. The visit was satirised by Churchill in his poem of "The Ghost."

George, Duke of Cambridge, was married in St. John's Church.

Mr. C. W. BIRCH pointed out the different features in the crypt, and reminded his hearers that St. John of Jerusalem was a distinct personality, and not to be confounded with either the apostle or the evangelist of the New Testament. The party had divided in their visit to St. John's and St. John's Gate, which in its general appearance reminds one of the gate of St. John in Bristol, as the accommodation in the rooms at the latter is somewhat limited.

THE GATE OF ST. JOHN,

now the Chancery of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, was built in 1100, and rebuilt after the destruction of the priory in 1381. It has been restored twice since 1856. On the ground floor is a central arched entrance with rooms on either side. The gateway is flanked by two towers. On the exterior may be seen shields charged with the arms of England and France, the order of St. John:—*gules, a cross argent*, Docwra and Greene. In each angle of the gateway is a slender attached column with moulded capital and base, from which the groined ribs spring. The rooms in the gateway contain various relics of Dr. Johnson and other literary men who were connected with the publication of the *Gentleman's Magazine* in the 18th century, and occupied the gateway as an office.

There is also a fine portrait of Pompeo, son of Andrea Fioramonti Perugino, Knight of Malta, 1622, and two suits of mail armour.

The history of the Knights of St. John would fill many volumes. The order owed its origin to the munificence of some merchants of Amalfi before the middle of the 11th century. Witnessing the poverty and misery of the pilgrims who thronged the Holy City, they built and endowed a

hospital for their succour, and committed it to the charge of a few Benedictine monks and lay assistants. This hospital was first dedicated to St. John the Almoner. When Jerusalem fell into the hands of Godfrey de Bouillon, he was so delighted with the lives and services of these brethren that he endowed their hospital with his lordship of Montboire in Brabant. The brethren thereupon formed themselves into a distinct order under the patronage of St. John the Baptist, and assuming a religious habit (a black mantle with a white cross of eight points on the left breast) they took the triple vow of poverty, chastity, and obedience. Moreover, finding that the pilgrims were subject to ill-treatment from robbers who

From a photograph by Mr. H. Medland.

ST. JOHN'S GATE, CLERKENWELL.

infested the roads to Jerusalem, they determined to combine the duties of a monk with those of a soldier, and wage a holy warfare against the enemies of Christ. The new order became immensely popular, and branches or *langues* were founded in England, France, Provence, Auvergne, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Germany. In 1118 a powerful offshoot from the order was formed under the name of the Knights Templars, whilst the original order became known as the Knights Hospitallers or the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and many centuries later as the Military Knights of Malta. The Templars wore a red cross on a white ground.

From a photograph by Dr. Oscar Clarke.

231 HAMPTON COURT.

ROOF OF THE CHAPEL ROYAL.

In the year 1100 some of the brethren appeared in England, and Jourdan de Brisset, a wealthy Norman baron, in conjunction with his wife, built and endowed a beautiful priory for them at Clerkenwell, and also a convent for women who devoted themselves to the service of God and the succour of the sick.

On the extirpation of the Knights Templars in 1312, their numerous possessions were conferred on the Hospitallers, and they thus became lords of the manors of Temple Guiting and Quenington, in Gloucestershire. In the reign of Richard II. the Priory at Clerkenwell was sacked and destroyed by Wat Tyler, but it was subsequently re-built by Prior Docwra, whose arms appear on St. John's Gate. The Priory was dissolved by Henry VIII., who, failing to effect a transfer of their allegiance from the Pope to himself, cruelly treated some of the Knights and drove the rest from the kingdom.

The priory buildings were sold, and, for the most part, destroyed. But the Knights have regained a small part of their ancient home.

It is pleasant to relate that in 1831 the English *langue* of the order was re-established, and that it has been of great service in originating funds and societies for aid to the sick and suffering in time of war. In later years, under its auspices, have grown up cottage hospitals, nursing institutions, and the St. John's Ambulance Association for first aid to the injured.

As for the history of the order in foreign countries: when driven from Jerusalem by the Saracens the Knights took possession of the Island of Rhodes, and held it till driven out by the Turks in 1523, when they took refuge in Malta. Who has not read of their gallant struggle against overwhelming forces of Turks at Malta in 1565, when only 600 survived of 9000 to rejoice in their great victory? They held Malta till 1797, when they were dispossessed of it by the French. In 1798 the English, under Nelson, obtained possession of the Island, and we still hold it. The names of L'Isle Adam and La Valette are remembered with pride by the Maltese, and with respect by all who have read of their prowess.

The Rev. W. K. R. BEDFORD, Librarian of the Order, supplied information to the Society relative to that portion of the structure with which he is more immediately connected, and Col. Sir H. C. PERROTT (Chief Secretary of the Order) also gave some useful information.

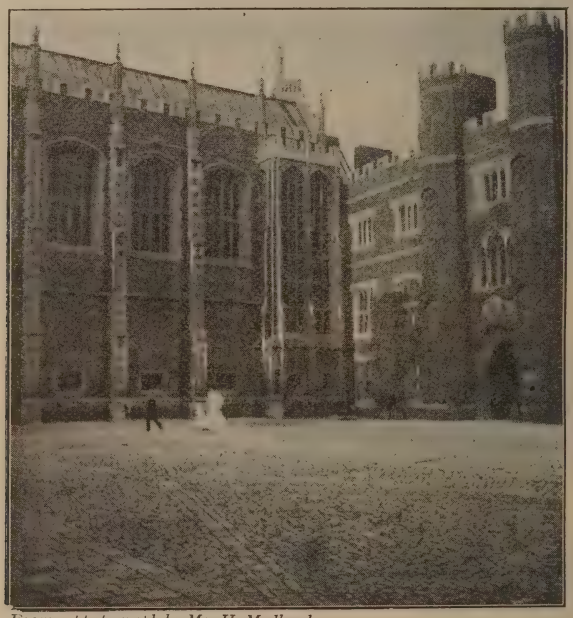
After lunch the party proceeded to

HAMPTON COURT PALACE,

where Mr. Ernest Law, the author of *Hampton Court Palace*, kindly acted as guide. The Chapel Royal and the private apartments, which are not open to the public, were visited by permission of the Lord Chamberlain and the Hon. Reginald Brett. This visit proved especially pleasant, and was connected with the structure last inspected in London, for in the

thirteenth century the Manor of "Hampden" was vested in the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem.

The Palace consists of a rectangular pile of buildings, surrounding four large open spaces: the Fountain Court, the Chapel Court, the Clock Court, and the Base Court, and many smaller courts. The southern façade, looking towards the river, contains on the left the state apartments, designed by Sir Christopher Wren for William III. on the site of the King's and Queen's Lodgings erected by Henry VIII. after Wolsey's disgrace and death. The rooms, with windows looking out on the Privy



From a photograph by Mr. H. Medland.

HAMPTON COURT. THE GREAT HALL.

Garden, and which the visitor enters by the King's Great Staircase in the centre, are the Guard Chamber, Presence Chambers, Audience Chamber, Drawing Room, Bedroom and Dressing Room of William III. and his immediate successors. These contain hundreds of fine paintings, amongst which the Beauties of Charles II.'s Court by Sir Peter Lely, and the Hampton Court Beauties by Sir Godfrey Kneller, have their special attractions. The ceilings were painted by Verrio, and much of the carving is by Grinling Gibbons. To the left of the Great Staircase are Wolsey's Rooms and the Guests' Lodgings. The east front contains the Queen's

From a photograph by Dr. Oscar Clarke.

HAMPTON COURT.

From a photograph by Dr. Oscar Clarke.

 HAMPTON COURT. THE CLOCK TOWER.

Lodgings and the Prince of Wales' Chambers, all of which belong to the later work of the beginning of last century. The north front, looking towards the gardens, contains on the left the Nursery and Lodgings of Edward VI., in the centre the kitchens, and on the right various offices and guest rooms. The west front contains the Great Gate House in the centre, with the Great Chamber above it, and the double lodgings on either side. The Lord Chamberlain's rooms project on the north, and the lodgings of Edward VI.'s nurse, Mrs. Penn, who is said to haunt them, on the south. In the centre of the Palace, with its windows opening on the Clock Court on the south, and on the Store Yard on the north, is the Great Hall, built by Henry VIII., and said to have the finest perpendicular roof in England. Its rivals are the roofs of Crosby Hall and Westminster Hall. The gateway connecting the Base Court with the Clock Court is known as Anne Boleyn's Gateway. On the turrets of this clock tower are two medallions of Roman Emperors in terra-cotta, which recall similar ornaments in the loggia of Horton Court.

At Hampton Court, Wolsey lived for fifteen years in state equal to a king's, and entertained his master and his court. Here Henry VIII., after Wolsey's death, passed many months of his eventful reign, and in turn dwelt with him each of his six queens. Here Edward VI. was born, and here he dwelt under the tutorship of Somerset during the early part of his brief reign. Here Queen Mary passed her sad honeymoon with the unloving Philip, and Elizabeth, while yet only a princess, was a prisoner.

Here, when queen, she flirted with Leicester, and kept Christmas with profuse hospitality.

Shakespeare played in a masque before James I. at Hampton Court Palace, and the Episcopalians and Puritans held their celebrated conference here under the presidency of that king.

Here Anne of Denmark breathed her last, and Charles I. quarrelled with the followers of his French queen. Hither he came in 1642 as a fugitive from Whitehall, and six years later as the prisoner of the Parliament.

Charles I.'s head had no sooner fallen from the block than the Parliament directed a sale of his effects at Hampton Court Palace; and furniture, tapestry, pictures, worth vast sums of money then and invaluable now, were sold for a mere song to English and foreign purchasers. Here Cromwell and the Protectress lived in regal state, and from hence that unhappy ruler retired to Whitehall to die.

Charles II. and his bride, Catherine of Braganza, spent their honeymoon at Hampton Court; and here Lely painted that marvellous collection of fair but frail court beauties which now adorns the state bedroom of William III.

James II. cared not for Hampton Court, but William set his heart

upon it from the first. At his bidding Wren demolished the King's and Queen's apartments which Henry VIII. had built, and erected on their site the magnificent pile of buildings that now surrounds the Fountain Court. Here Queen Mary died ere Wren's new work was completed, and here in the great park the king's horse fell with him and brought about the illness from which he died.

To quote from Pope's well-known *Rape of the Lock :*

> *Here*, thou great Anna! whom three realms obey,
> Dost sometimes counsel take and sometimes tea.

Hither the first George retired to avoid his hated subjects, and to amuse himself with the German "frauen" who gave their *sobriquet* to "Frog walk." George II. was the last of our sovereigns who dwelt at Hampton Court. For a century and a half the greater part of the palace has been occupied by members of aristocratic families who have obtained the free use of royal apartments. Till our present Queen ascended the throne the state rooms were unused and neglected, but during the sixty years of her beneficent reign it is reckoned that twelve millions of her subjects have visited the palace and its gardens without fee or favour.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 13TH.

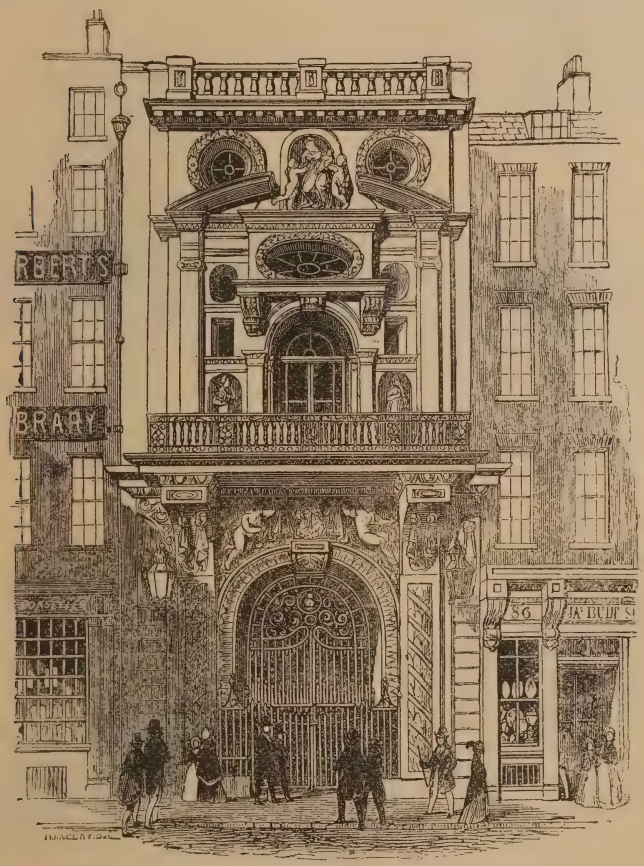
The first item in the programme for the third day of the meeting was

THE MERCERS' HALL.

The morning was wet, so on arriving in Cheapside members were glad to accept an invitation to enter the chapel before the arrival of Mr. John Watney, the clerk to the Guild, who had arranged to speak on the history of the Company and describe such objects of interest as were contained in the building. The Mercers' Hall, which is closely associated with the history of Thomas à Becket, Sir Richard Whittington, Sir Thomas Gresham, Viscount Campden, and other worthies, some of them natives of Gloucestershire, has an entrance in Ironmongers' Lane. This leads into a court with pillars, recalling memories of Genoese palaces. The chapel stands on the site of the birthplace of Thomas à Becket and of the College of St. Thomas of Acon or Acre, founded in the martyr's honour by his sister and her husband, Thomas FitzTheobald de Helles. This college was granted to the Mercers by Henry VIII. after its dissolution in his reign. The Hall was rebuilt after the Great Fire after the design of Jerman, and contains some good oak carving. In the court room are portraits of Sir Richard Whittington, Sir Thomas de Gresham, Dean Colet, and Thomas Papillon, who was fined £10,000 by the notorious Judge Jeffreys.

The Mercers' Guild takes precedence of all the London Guilds, and claims the earliest London magistrates and more than sixty Lord Mayors amongst its members. It owes its first charter, granted by Richard II. in 1393, to Sir Richard Whittington. The second of the Company was granted by Henry VI., in 1425–6, at the request of Whittington's executors, and bestowed the right of using a common seal.

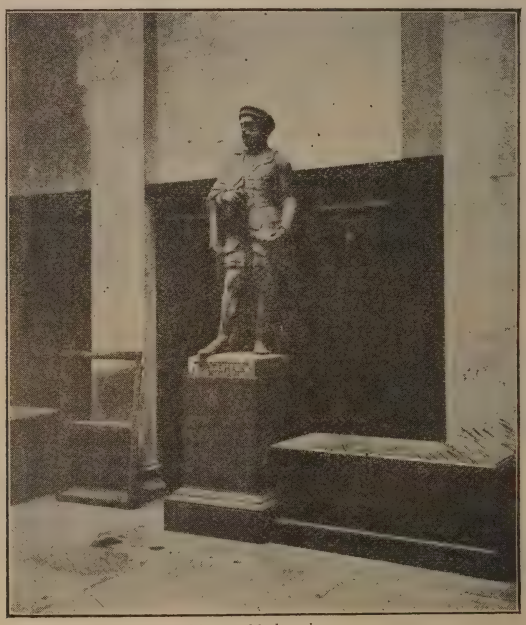
In the 15th century bequests flowed steadily into the Company's treasury, laying the foundation of the princely estate which they now administer. By the will of Dean Colet the Mercers became the trustees of St. Paul's School, which was founded in 1512. Sir Thomas Gresham, founder of the Royal Exchange and Gresham College, was proud to call himself in his letters to Queen Mary a mercer. Sir Baptist Hicks,



MERCERS' HALL. ENTRANCE FROM CHEAPSIDE.

Viscount Campden, of Chipping Campden in Gloucestershire, was the son of a mercer, and himself a member of the Guild. Sir Richard Whittington was, as his will declares, the son of Sir William Whittington. His early life is wrapt in obscurity. His family, who took their name rom a picturesque parish near Cheltenham, with an ancient church and manor house, settled at Pauntley as lords of the manor in the reign of Edward I.

After a short stay in the chapel, the party passed on to the dining hall. The windows contain portraits of Thomas à Becket, Richard II., Whittington, Dr. John Colet, Queen Elizabeth, and Sir Thomas Gresham.



From a photograph by Mr. H. Midland.

THE MERCERS' HALL.
STATUE OF SIR THOMAS GRESHAM.

The shields of benefactors are placed round the Hall, which is adorned with handsome carved panelling. There is a screen and minstrel gallery.

Before a description of the property of the Company was given by Mr. Watney, Sir John Dorington, M.P., the President-elect of the Archæological Society, who had been unable to attend the business meeting on account of the funeral of his brother-in-law, made his appearance.

Mr. WITTS, the President, said it was his pleasant duty to resign his occupancy of the chair in favour of Sir John, and he was sure they would accord him a hearty welcome. Not only had he assisted that Society, but in everything which related to the county business of Gloucester he had given the utmost satisfaction, and they could not have a better leader. He would now vacate his seat and ask Sir John to preside.

Sir JOHN DORINGTON, M.P., expressed his sorrow at the unfortunate circumstances which prevented his taking the chair on Monday last; but he hoped the Society, under the sad occurrence, would excuse his absence, and he was sure they had lost nothing through the action of his deputy,

From a photograph by Mr. H. Medland.

THE MERCERS' HALL. THE CHAPEL.

Mr. Witts, who was successful in everything which he undertook in connection with Gloucestershire.

Mr. F. F. Fox moved a vote of thanks to Mr. G. B. Witts for his services. He said not only had Mr. Witts served them well during the last year as their President, and during the past few days, but he had manifested keen interest in their Society by his contributions to their *Transactions* and his books written for their benefit. They could not have

had a better president than Mr. Witts, and the least they could do would be to accord him a formal vote of thanks for his services.

Mr. PERCIVAL seconded the resolution, which was accorded by acclamation.

Mr. WITTS responded, and said he was gratified at the assistance which had been given him. It was a real pleasure to him to do what he could for the Society during his term of office, and the Society would always have a warm corner in his heart.

Mr. J. WATNEY gave an interesting account of the Mercers' Company and their building. He said it was quite a common thing to say that London was destroyed in the Great Fire, but a strong stone building like that in which they were assembled was not burnt, and if they could examine the panelling in the chapel they would find behind it the stones so admirably fashioned and fitted that they must be a relic of the old city, and were not merely used after the Fire. The Hall in which they were gathered dated from 1670; the coats of arms around were those of benefactors of the Company, and the stained glass, though modern, contained portraits of benefactors of the Company. Mr. Watney reminded his hearers that "Mercer" did not mean silk mercer, but was the modern equivalent of *mercator* = merchant, and he then proceeded to give particulars of Whittington and his successful career, he having been Lord Mayor four times.

SIR RICHARD WHITTINGTON.

The first charter was granted to the Company in 1493, and the last was granted by Elizabeth.

Mr. H. S. KENNEDY-SKIPTON then read a paper on "Sir Richard Whittington," which is printed in Part I. of this volume. (*See* p. 94.)

Mr. WATNEY, with respect to the fact of Whittington being a Gloucestershire man, produced a little book comprising the original ordinances of the almshouses and colleges of Whittington, with a *curious illumination* showing him on his death-bed in the days before people wore night-shirts, and his almspeople standing around him. He remarked that the book was written and the illumination made shortly after the death of Whittington, so that it was getting on for 500 years old.

The quaint little book contained the ordinances for the almshouses and college of Sir Richard Whittington, citizen and mercer, dated the 24th December, 1424, and made by his executors, John Coventry, John Carpenter, and William Grove. The following is a description of the head-piece of the Ordinances: Whittington is represented lying on his death-bed, a very lean, consumed, meagre body; and his three executors and a priest standing by his bedside. A group of thirteen figures (the front one of which is doubtless Robert Chesterton, the first tutor of the almshouses, whose hair is distinguished from the rest, being grey) and his twelve almsmen attending him. This head-piece is really a drawing with a fine-pointed pen, the ink by time is changed to brown: the faces and hands are tinted with red, heightened with white, and the hair with brown; the emaciated figure of Whittington is tinted with a sallow pale brown. The names of Carpenter, Coventre, and Grove are written on the figures intended for them.

Sir JOHN DORINGTON examined the quaint little book which Mr. Watney had shown them, and he said it was beautifully written in English, and not in Latin, and moderately easy to read. He proposed to give for their *Transactions*, an old print of the stone in the London Guildhall, which was dug up in Gloucester, and commemorated Whittington's singular rise through the cat. (This will be found on p. 282 of this volume.)

The thanks of the Society were tendered to the Master and Wardens of the Company by Sir JOHN DORINGTON and the Rev. W. BAZELEY, the latter expressing his obligations to the Mercers' Company in respect to taking his degree at Cambridge. Mr. WATNEY suitably responded.

A rather long walk through the narrow streets of the city brought the party to the

CHURCH OF ST. OLAVE'S, HART STREET.

Fortunately, however, the rain was over. At St. Olave's the Rev. Dr. A. Povah was present to receive the Society.

This is one of the smallest of city churches, measuring only 54 feet square. It is one of the three dedicated to Olaf, the Vikings' Saint of Norway. The building, as it stands, dates from the middle of the 15th century; it consists of a chancel, a nave with two aisles, and a low square tower at the east end of the south aisle. At the east end of the south side

is the vestry, built 166½; its ceiling is worthy of notice. The ceiling of the church itself is apparently original, but it was "garnished" in 163⅔.

Especially noteworthy is the handsome pulpit, formerly in the church of St. Benet, Gracechurch. It is ascribed to Grinling Gibbons.

The bells are dated 1662. The second, third, fourth, and fifth bells are said to display the rose, shamrock, and thistle—an important fact, since there is no literary evidence of the existence of the shamrock as a national emblem much older than the commencement of the 18th century. The churchyard was used for the burial of those who died from the plague in 1665, a fact commemorated by the grim ornamentation of its gateway. The following monuments are deserving of attention:

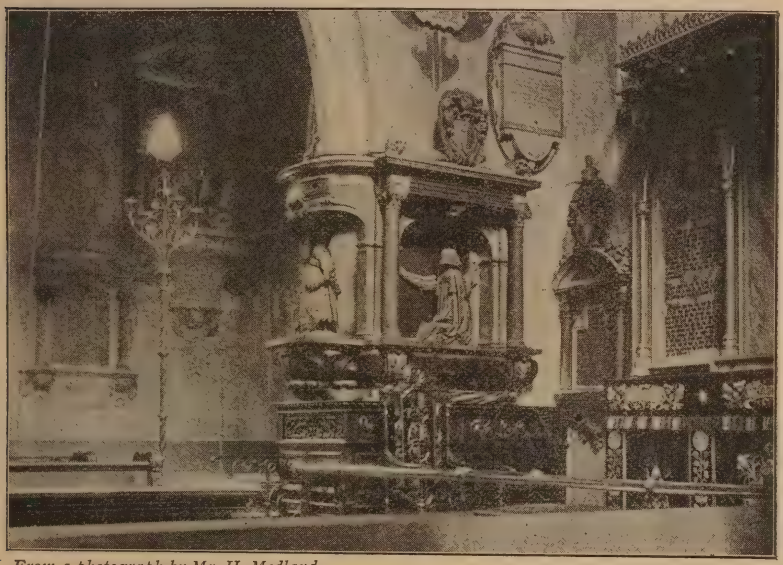
In the north aisle, Sir Andrew Riccard, 1672 (an ugly statue with a pompous, inflated inscription below); Thomas Morley, 1566 (a mural brass, with a quaint set of verses); Peter Cappone, a native of Florence, 1582 (a life-sized figure in alabaster, the hands missing; he died in London of the plague).

In the chancel are several monuments—that to Paul and Andrew Bayninge, 1616, being the best. It consists of two admirable figures in aldermanic robes, beneath a canopy. Close to this, in the north-east corner, is the mural tablet with bust in memory of Elizabeth Pepys, 1669, the diarist's wife.

In the south aisle should be noticed the fine tomb over the vestry door in memory of Sir James Deane and his family, 1608 (the subject was a merchant-adventurer to India, China, and the Spice Islands); John Orgone and his wife, 1584 (a brass remarkable for its small size and for the words engraved upon the stone; these seem contemporary with the brass plate, but such a method of augmenting the record is very rare); Sir Richard Haddon, Lord Mayor in 1512 (this brass is the oldest monument in the church; it is much injured. Two of the three daughters are

named Brigitta, indicating that the superstitious feeling against naming a child after a deceased brother or sister was not entertained by a London merchant of the 16th century. His trade is indicated by the Maidenhead, the arms of the Mercers' Company).

Dr. Povah, having ascended the pulpit stairs, informed the assembly that he had been nearly 38 years rector of the church, and three or four



From a photograph by Mr. H. Medland.

ST. OLAF'S CHURCH.

years ago he published the annals of the church and parish. He pointed out the space where formerly was a door through which Pepys and the officers of the navy used to enter the church in order to occupy their own pew. He said that Pepys did not think the servants should sit immediately behind their masters, but further back. Having pointed out objects of note in the church, Dr. Povah said he had written out the churchwardens' accounts for many years, and if his life was spared he would have them printed. They commenced in 1491, and were carried through most important changes in church matters. The registers began in 1562, and they were in excellent preservation. Dr. Povah was thanked for his courteous reception and agreeable information, and then the party crossed the Thames by way of London Bridge to

ST. SAVIOUR'S COLLEGIATE CHURCH, SOUTHWARK,

better known in olden times as St. Mary Overie. We have our "Over" on the other side of the Severn at Gloucester; and at first sight it looks as

if our fathers thought of it as the Church of St. Mary beyond the river; but tradition smiles at such an unsentimental origin as this.

The Chronicles of London Bridge give us the popular story of St. Mary Overy, which may also be found in an old tract entitled "The true history of the life and sudden death of old John Overs, the rich ferry-man of London, showing how he lost his life by his own covetousness. And of his daughter Mary, who caused the Church of St. Mary Overs in Southwark to be built."

Long ago, in Saxon times, before any bridge crossed the Thames at this point, a ferry-man named John Overs had the monopoly of the river passage, and the longer he lived the richer and more miserly he became. Now his only daughter Mary was a lovely maiden and as good as she was beautiful; and many a knight who crossed the stream wooed her for his bride. And she gave her heart to one poor knight, who asked her father for her in vain and went away despairing. One day, in order to save a meal or two—for who, the old man thought, could eat and drink when death was in the house?—Audrey laid himself out as dead and covered himself with a winding sheet. But his servants, believing him to be gone, stripped the larder and set the casks flowing. This was more than the old man could endure, and in the midst of their carousal he rushed in amongst them. The company flew, shrieking at what they believed to be a ghost; but one, braver than the rest, took up a broken oar and slew the old man indeed. The maiden, finding herself rich and free, sent for her lover, but, alas, on his way he was thrown from his steed and killed. The distracted lady thereupon built a convent, endowed it with the ferry, and retiring thither from the world died and was buried in the odour of sanctity.

The true meaning of "Overie" is said by Canon Thompson in his guide to be *Ofer* a river bank, and *ie* an island or land by water, so that the Church of St. Mary Overie would mean the "Church of St. Mary on the waterland by the river bank."

Later on, it is said another lady changed the foundation to a college of canons, who are said to have built the first London bridge, and very early in the 12th century two Norman knights founded an Augustinian priory here, of which the present St. Saviour's was the conventual church. In this church Edmund Holland, last Earl of Kent, married in 1406 Lucia, daughter of Bernabo Visconti, ruler of Milan, Henry IV. giving the bride away; and here, in 1424, James I. of Scotland married Joan Beaufort, grand-daughter of John of Gaunt and niece of Cardinal Beaufort.

The Lady Chapel was used in the reign of Queen Mary as the Consistorial Court of Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and here our own Gloucester martyr-bishop Hooper, and John Rogers of St. Sepulchre's were condemned to perish at the stake.

From a photograph by Dr. Oscar Clarke.

242 ST. SAVIOUR'S, SOUTHWARK.

In St. Saviour's churchyard, in 1665, 600 victims of the plague are said to have been buried in one week.

The church consists of a nave, rebuilt in 1838, and again rebuilt under the direction of Sir Arthur Blomfield in 1891-3. The original Norman nave is said to have been erected by William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester, 1107—1129, and to have been altered into Early English by Bishop Peter de la Roche, 1205—1244; Decorated north and south transepts, a central tower, the upper stages Perpendicular the lower Decorated, an Early English Choir, built in 1207, and a Lady Chapel of the same date, with clustered shafts and ribbed vaulting.

The party was conducted round the church by the Rev. Canon Thompson, D.D., the Rector, and by Mr. G. H. Birch, whose paper has been printed in this volume. (*See* p. 126.)

After lunch a move was made to

THE TOWER OF LONDON,

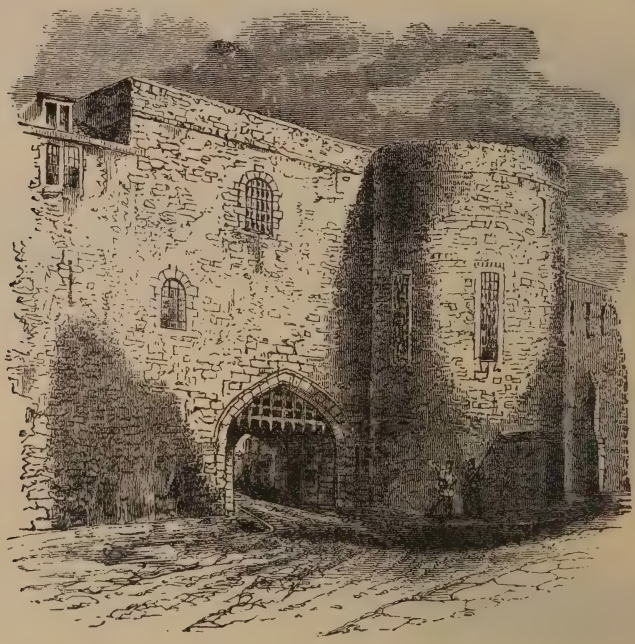
a concentric castle covering about twelve acres of ground, with its base or south side extended along the bank of the Thames. Nearly in

THE TRAITORS' GATE.

the centre of the fortress is the White Tower, its oldest and strongest part. Surrounding this is the inner ward or court, contained by a wall and towers, of which there were at one time twelve. Encircling

this, and contained within a wall, is the outer ward, with drum bastions at the angles of the north front and five mural towers on the south, or river front. A deep and wide ditch, half-a-mile in circumference, completes the enceinte.

Visitors enter the Tower at the south-east angle by a stone bridge over the moat. This bridge is defended by the Middle Gate at the west end, with ancient arch and portcullis. Adjoining this was the Lion Tower with a semi-circular area, where the Kings of England in olden times kept a collection of wild animals. At the east end of the bridge



THE BLOODY TOWER.

is the Byard Tower, a Perpendicular structure of the time of Richard II. We now enter the outer yard. The first tower on the right is dedicated to St. Thomas à Becket, and contains the Traitors' Gate, so called because State prisoners were brought into the fortress by water this way.[1]

Here Anne Boleyn landed in 1536, and eighteen years later her daughter Elizabeth followed her as a prisoner. The Tower was probably completed in the reign of Edward I. Beyond, on the right, is the

1 The view of this gate from the river, and the other illustrations of the Tower, were kindly given to the Society by Mr. Murray in 1878. (See *Trans.*, II. 168.)

Cradle Tower—a small gatehouse. The inner ward is entered through the gate of the Bloody Tower, so called because it is said that two young Princes were murdered here. The architecture is late Decorated. Adjoining it is the Wakefield Tower, so called because the Yorkist leaders were imprisoned here after the battle of that name. The base is Norman, and the upper part was re-built in the reign of Henry III. Henry VI. is said to have been murdered here. The Crown jewels, valued at three millions, are now kept in this tower. Making our circuit of the inner ward, we come at the south-west angle to the twelfth century Bell Tower, in which Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, is said to have been imprisoned.

An alarm bell hung here, which gave it its present name. The Beauchamp or Cobham Tower of Edwardian date was the place of Lord Cobham Philip Howard, Lord Arundell's imprisonment. Amongst many other inscriptions is the word

supposed to have been carved by Dudley, the husband of Lady Jane Grey, a touching memorial of the separation, imprisonment, and cruel death of this amiable pair. The Devereux Tower at the north-west angle of the date of Richard I. derives its name from Robert Devereux, Elizabeth's favourite. The Flint Tower has been recently rebuilt. The Bowyer Tower was built in the reign of Edward III. as a residence for the King's bow-maker. Clarence is said to have been drowned here in a butt of Malmesey wine. The Brick Tower has been recently rebuilt. Here Lady Jane Grey was imprisoned, and from a window she saw her husband's headless body pass from Tower Hill. The Martin Tower was built in the reign of Henry III. The Earl of Northumberland, *temp.* James I., and the seven Bishops, *temp.* James II., were imprisoned here. The Constable Tower has been recently rebuilt. The Broad Arrow Tower is old, but obscured by buildings. In the Salt Tower a curious astrological device remains on the walls, with the inscription "Hew Draper of Brystow made this spheer the 30 days of Maye anno 1561." At the north-west quarter of the Inner Ward, next Devereux Tower, is the Chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula, built before the time of John, and rebuilt in the 16th century. Here worshipped hundreds of unfortunate State prisoners, and here lie the bones of many justly, and more unjustly, executed as traitors; the Protector Somerset, Thomas

Cromwell, Essex, two Queens of Henry VIII, Lady Jane Grey, Sir Thomas Overbury of Gloucestershire, poisoned in prison by order of Carr, Earl of Somerset, and the Countess of Essex, sometime the unfaithful wife of the brave soldier who relieved Gloucester in 1643.

We enter the White Tower at its south-west angle by a staircase. It was built by Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester, in 1078, by order of the Conqueror. Its shape is almost square, with a semi-circular projection at its south-east angle which forms the apse of St. John's Chapel, and of its crypt and sub-crypt. It consists of four stages, all of which are divided into three chambers, the west chamber being larger than half of the whole, and the north-east chamber being larger than the south-east. There are

THE CHAPEL OF ST. JOHN.

newel staircases in three of the angles, the one on the north-east being inserted in a turret.

Under the steps on the first floor an inscription tells us that some bones were found, supposed to be the remains of the young princes, and that they were removed to Westminster Abbey.

A winding stair leads to St. John's Chapel, the most perfect and

complete Norman chapel in Britain. It is divided into aisles by circular columns, with square bases and caps. The stilted arches at the east end are similar to those at St. Bartholomew the Great. Above the arcade is the Triforium, with semi-circular headed arches, quite plain.

The room adjoining the chapel, now filled with weapons, was the ancient Banqueting Hall. In the uppermost floor is the Council Chamber, used until the reign of Richard III. Here Richard II. abdicated in favour of Henry IV., and here occurred that strange scene which Sir Thomas More so graphically records in his *Life of Richard III.*, when Richard, as Protector, accused Hastings of sorcery and of designs on his life. "I will not dine," he said, "until they have brought me your head," and the powerful minister was hurried to execution, whilst the other members of the Council were led to prison in various parts of the fortress. This chamber is now the Armoury. In the vault or basement of the White Tower Anne Askew is said to have been tortured on the rack; and hard by, in the chamber called Little Ease, Guy Fawkes confessed after thirty minutes of similar torture.

The history of the Tower cannot be told in one volume or many, much less in a brief notice. It were perhaps better never told for the floodtide of human ambition, cruelty, and sorrow has risen within these blood-stained walls to its greatest height. No other fortress in the world is so deeply associated with the life and progress of its nation, and few have been the scene of so much unnecessary, unmerited suffering.

"With the sole exception of Hadrian's Tomb—the Castle of St. Angelo at Rome, the Tower has no rivals amongst palaces and prisons. The Kremlin in Moscow and the Doge's Palace in Venice are no older than the 14th century, the Seraglio in Stamboul was built by Mahommed II., Pope Borgia built the oldest part of the Vatican, the old Louvre was commenced in the reign of Henry VIII., and at the time of the restoration of William III. Versailles was yet a swamp."[1]

The White Tower carries us back well-nigh to the Norman Conquest, and the massive bulwarks on which its foundations were laid are remains of the fortifications of Londinium in the first century.

Mr. Birch again kindly acted as guide, and explained the architectural history of the fortress and chapels. His paper on the two chapels has been reprinted, and will be found on p. 175 of this volume. In seeing the armour, the Society had the advantage of hearing it described by Viscount Dillon, President of the Society of Antiquaries. He explained that the present collection of ancient armour has been formed from a nucleus placed there under the instructions of Henry VIII. Several suits worn by that monarch appear—some built for Henry as a youth,

[1] See the article on the Tower of London in *Mediæval Military Architecture*, Vol. II., by a late Vice-President of this Society, Mr. G. T. Clark.

others when he had assumed Falstaffian proportions. Lord Dillon drew attention to one complete suit of standing armour which, in spite of its beautiful workmanship, was most uncomfortable, as it prevented the wearer from sitting or walking beyond the slowest pace, or raising an arm above the elbow. The cavalry suit of armour which the Emperor Maximilian gave to Henry in 1514 is the work of Conrad Seusenhofer, and was originally silvered and worked with roses and pomegranates. The edging of the armour is decorated with the initials "H" and "K," in honour of Henry and Katherine.

Several relics were pointed out as being of great interest, because they had excited the comment of historians and travellers of previous centuries. For instance, an old wall piece, dated 1600, with a barrel

From a photograph by Mr. H. Medland.

THE TOWER.

nine feet long, had been mentioned by a French traveller in the last century as having belonged to William the Conqueror, his idea being to show the mightiness of the man who could wield so enormous a weapon. Unfortunately, French accuracy failed in a proper appreciation of the dates of the landing of the Conqueror and of the use in Europe of guns and gunpowder. In this way was the visit made interesting and

amusing. Lord Dillon pointed out the suit of armour worn by the Marquis of Waterford at the Eglington Tournament, which had proved ill-fitting in the legs, and, as it did not allow for any letting-out, top boots had been substituted for the lower pieces—a fine finish to a martial appearance at the famous revival of the tilting lists. The armour of later days was explained, and the work of a Scotch pistol shown, dated 1619, which is the earliest form of flint-lock pistol in the world.

From the Tower the Society travelled by steamboat to Lambeth in order to visit

LAMBETH PALACE,

for many centuries the residence of the Archbishops of Canterbury. It comprises a great gatehouse and inner and outer courts. The Gateway, flanked by two towers of unequal width and of five stories, was built by Cardinal Morton, Archbishop 1486-1501. It is a very fine specimen of Tudor brickwork, with stone quoins and dressings. The wide-spanned doorway, with a wicket gate beside it, leads to a passage with a groined stone ceiling, and an inner doorway leading into the outer court. In the angle of the building near the larger arched doorway is a leaden pipe, on the square head of which appears: a ton with a letter "M," the rebus of the founder. Stretching the whole length of the right or east side of the outer court is the hall of the Palace, now used as the Library. It was built by Archbishop Juxon (1660–1663) on the site of the hall built by Archbishop Boniface in 1244, and almost destroyed by Scot and Hardyng, the regicides. On the west side, facing the outer court, the façade of the hall has five central bays, deeply recessed within buttresses, each having a lofty window of three lights; it has also two shallow wings projecting into the court with longer three-light windows. Internally the hall is nearly 300 feet long and 38 feet broad, and has a fine open timber roof divided into bays by semi-circular arched bracing-ribs, which support the moulded collar-beams, and spring from corbels halfway down the walls, between the windows. The spaces between the bracing-ribs, collar-beams, king-posts, and rafters are filled with open panel-work, and the spandrels of the arched bracing-ribs contain the Archbishop's mitre with a wreath of foliage. From the termination of the hammer-beams, which help to support the bracing-ribs and collar-beams, hang pendants with acanthus-leaf ornamentation. In the centre of the roof is a louvre, or lantern, with turret and vane. In this hall banquets were given at the consecration of bishops until they were discontinued at the request of Bishop Wilberforce in 1845. In the windows are the arms of many of the archbishops and the portrait of Archbishop Chicheley (1414–1443). Archbishop Bancroft (1604–1610) turned the original hall into a library, and the University of Cambridge saved the books from dispersion during

the Commonwealth by claiming them under Bancroft's will. At the Restoration they were restored to Archbishop Sheldon (1663–1678).

From the Hall the visitor passes upstairs to the Guard-room, now the dining-room, which contains an interesting series of portraits of archbishops from the commencement of the sixteenth century:—"Warham," by Holbein; "Laud," by Van Dyck; "Herring," by Hogarth; "Secker," by Reynolds; "Moore," a native of Gloucester, by Romney; and many others, such as "Cardinal Pole," "Cranmer," and "Parker," whose portraits have been painted by unknown artists. The gallery leading to the chapel contains portraits of Martin Luther on panel, a fine engraving of old London, &c., &c. Descending the stairs at the end of this gallery, we reach the vestibule of the chapel, called the Post-room, which takes its name from a central pillar, and has an ornamental flat ceiling. There is no evidence in support of the tradition that the Lollards were punished in this room by whipping.

The chapel, which stands on a crypt, was built by Archbishop Boniface (1241–70). Archbishop Laud (1633—1645) filled the lancet windows with old stained glass, which the Puritans in their turn completely smashed. In this chapel the Archbishops have been consecrated from the time of Boniface. Archbishop Parker (1559—1576) was buried here, dug up by the Puritans, and again reverently laid to rest by Sir William Dugdale at the Restoration. "Tandem hic quiescit." The chapel was restored by Archbishop Tait (1868—1882), who refilled its windows with stained glass. The screen was erected by Laud, and a confessional at the west end, approached by seven steps, was erected by Archbishop Chicheley. From the Post-room we ascend to the Water Tower, known for three centuries as the Lollards' Tower. In olden days the Thames washed the very walls of the Palace, and at the foot of this tower the archbishops had their private entrance and exit. Part of this building or group of buildings is said to be Archbishop Hubert Walter's work at the end of the 11th century. The principal portion was erected by Chicheley and bears his arms, whilst another part owes its origin to Laud.

It is certain that the "Lollards' Tower" has been used at various times as a prison, but until the Civil War it was more often a place of sanctuary to fugitives from abroad, such as Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, and Fagius; and to other learned and holy men who were persecuted at home, such as Thomas Thirleby and Cuthbert Tunstall.

The real prison of the Lollards is known to have been a tower in Old St. Paul's. But in this tower at Lambeth were confined in the 17th century men of very different views from Wickliffe's. In 1643 it was agreed in the House of Commons that Lambeth House, "lying empty and convenient," should be converted into a prison, and Dr. Alexander Leighton, who had had his ears cropped and was condemned to the pillory by Laud, was placed

there in charge of the prisoners. Hither were sent Sir Roger Twysden, Sir Edward Bates, Alderman Abell, Dr. Guy Carleton, and many others. Bishop Kennet says that "near a hundred ministers were brought out of the west and clapp'd into Lambeth House, where almost all of them were destroyed by a pestilential fever." In 1648 the Royalist poet, Lovelace, was imprisoned here. In 1656 some Fifth Monarchy men were consigned to Lambeth prison, and, in 1659, the Earls of Derby and Chesterfield, and Sir Thomas Armstrong. So the inscriptions we see are not the relics of those who suffered for their adherence to the teaching of Wycliffe, but, for the most part, of those who suffered for their king in the days of Oliver Cromwell. The room called the Lollards' Prison is 13 feet long, 12 feet broad, and 8 feet high. There are eight rings to which the prisoners were fastened. The door has a wooden lock, and is fastened with wooden pegs.

The remaining part of the Palace—erected by Archbishop Howley (1828–48)—has no archæological interest.

Mr. S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A., the Librarian, received the Society and acted as guide. His interesting paper has been printed on pp. 79-93 of this volume.

THURSDAY, JULY 14TH.

In the long and interesting programme which had been drawn up for the fourth day of the meeting, the first item was

THE CHURCH OF GREAT ST. HELEN

in Bishopsgate, which was described by Mr. Macalister in the printed notes as follows:—

The building consists of the following members:—(1) A double nave, divided longitudinally by an arcade of four lofty rectilinear arches, which runs a little south of the medial line—these arches, or their predecessors, were filled with heavy screenwork in order that strict privacy might be secured for the nuns when at their devotions; (2) a chancel, separated from the nave by screenwork, and by raising the floor-level only; (3) a chapel, dedicated to the Holy Ghost, on the south side of the chancel, till recently used as the vestry, but now restored to its original purpose; and (4) a vestry, quite modern, at the west end of the south side of the nave. The date of the greatest part of the church is c. 1450. The roof is original, but it was found necessary to restore it very thoroughly in 1864. The woodwork (pulpit, doors, &c.), inserted when the church was repaired in 1631 (it is said under Inigo Jones), is very fine, and repays examination.

Among the monuments should be noticed the following:—

In the north, or nuns' nave and choir, Hugh Pemberton and family,

1500 (altar tomb and canopy; brasses in back wall all removed, except two shields and one of the plates, which bore conventional representations of the numerous daughters of the household); Martin Bond, 1643 (an elaborate monument, unfortunately rather high up on the wall, bearing a spirited sculptured representation of the deceased under his tent in the camp at Tilbury, where he held the post of captain); Anonymous, *sæc.* xvi., an unusually fine altar tomb of late Gothic work; Sir Thomas Gresham, 1570 (a remarkably unpretending altar tomb, with the bare record of name and date alone engraved upon it); Sir Julius Cæsar, 1635 (a clever but highly sensational epitaph, couched in the form of a deed, and engraved in imitation of such a document).

At the west end of this portion of the church, in a pair of wall cases, is an interesting and varied collection of fragments of pottery, oak carving, tokens, &c., discovered in or about the church.

In the south nave, Richard Staper, alderman, and family, 1608 (a handsome mural monument, with figures of the family; the deceased is described as "the chiefest actor in Discoveri of the trades of Turkey"); Sir John Spencer, 1609 (an elaborate monument with full-sized recumbent effigies of Sir John and his wife under a canopy; the small kneeling figure—probably of their daughter, Lady Northampton (*see* p. 199), in an immense hooped petticoat—is an extraordinary illustration of the vagaries of costume).

The chancel contains nothing calling for special remark, except the modern tiles in the floor.

The south chapel contains a large series of monuments, many of which came down from St. Martin Outwich on the destruction of that church and the amalgamation of the parish, to which it belonged with St. Helen's, in 1874. The following may be mentioned: Chambrelan family, 1687, enlarged 1704 (a large costly tablet of marble in the usual style of the period); Gervase Reresby, 1704 (of the same type, but rather better); Walter Bernard, 1746 (a clumsy mural monument—a pretty fragment of carved marble, found inside this memorial when it was erected on its present site, is built into the wall close by); Teasdale tablet, 1804 (remarkable for the neatness of its lettering and the naïve triple note of exclamation after the statement of the duration of the deceased's illness); John de Oteswich and wife, *temp.* Henry IV. (an unusually perfect monument, with remarkably realistic recumbent effigies of the deceased); Thomas Wylliams and wife, 1495 (a poor brass; the prayer for the souls of the deceased is effaced, probably the work of the "carver," who in 1644 was paid £1 2s. for "defacing the superstitious inscriptions"); a lady, *c.* 1465 (brass—it is much worn, and has been re-set in a new slab); Robert Rochester, serjeant of the pantry to Henry VIII., 1514 (another poor brass); a lady, c. 1535 (this is the best brass remaining in the church—the

252 ST. HELEN'S.

subject is represented in a heraldic mantle); Nicholas Wotton, rector of St. Martin Outwich, 1485 (brass—the subject is represented in academical costume; a small figure of a doctor, *c.* 1500, with the characteristic peaked cap, is now laid in the same slab); Sir J. Crosby and his first wife, Agnes, 1475 (a fine monument, with two recumbent effigies—Sir John wears a mantle over a suit of plate armour, with the collar of suns and roses, the badge of Edward IV., round his neck).

Sir Thomas Gresham intended to erect a proper tower to the church "in return for the ground within occupied by his tomb"; but, unfortunately, the project fell through, and the bells are lodged in the ugly bell-turret (erected soon after the great fire), which detracts greatly from the external appearance of the church.

The dedication suggests that it may occupy the site of a church in Roman London, dedicated by the Emperor Constantine to his mother Helena's memory; but this is mere conjecture. There is, however, documentary evidence of the existence of a church on the same site and under the same invocation at a period long anterior to the date of any portion of the existing edifice; it is mentioned in a record dated 1010 A.D.

About 1212 A.D. a Benedictine Priory for nuns was founded by one "William, son of William the Goldsmith," under license from Alard de Burnham, dean of St. Paul's. In 1308 this nunnery became the recipient of liberal benefactions from William de Basing, Sheriff of London. At this period the oldest remaining portion of the church—the eastern end of the north, or nunnery nave—was apparently erected. The cloister was at the north side of the church—an exceptional position; also found in St. Edmund's Abbey at Bury. The door and two small windows that formerly led to the cloister still remain in the north wall. At the dissolution of the monasteries the priory buildings fell into the hands of the Leathersellers' Company, and were used by them as their common hall till 1799, when the last remains of the buildings were demolished.

When the visitors had taken their seat in the church, the Rev. J. W. L. AIREY, the Rector, read prayers and then expressed his pleasure at receiving the Society in his church.

Mr. BIRCH then read a paper which he had contributed some years ago to a small magazine. This is now inaccessible, and it has been therefore reprinted with some interesting illustrations supplied by Mr. Birch (*see* p. 190).

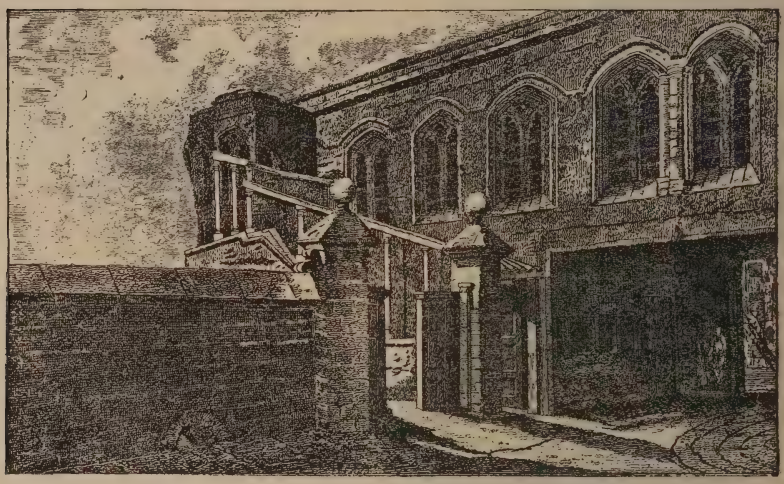
At the conclusion of this paper, the RECTOR gave some information as to the restoration which had been carried out by Mr. Pearson.

The next place on the programme was Crosby Hall, but as it would be impossible to address the Society on a building which is now a busy restaurant, Mr. BIRCH took up his position at the west end of the church and gave a sketch of the history of

CROSBY HALL,

which was built on land belonging to St. Helen's Priory by John Crosby, a member of the Grocers' Company and a Woolstapler, who about 1470 obtained a lease of it for 99 years, and built, as Stow tells us, "this house of stone and timber very large and beautiful, and the highest at that time in London."

Mr. Birch stated that Sir John Crosby, who was Sheriff in 1470–1 and knighted in May, 1471, on the return of Edward IV. from Holland, was a devoted adherent of the House of York, and after his death in 1475 his widow leased the building to Richard, Duke of Gloucester. Shakespeare had introduced Crosby Hall in three places in his works, but what they would now see was only a portion of the original structure. There were

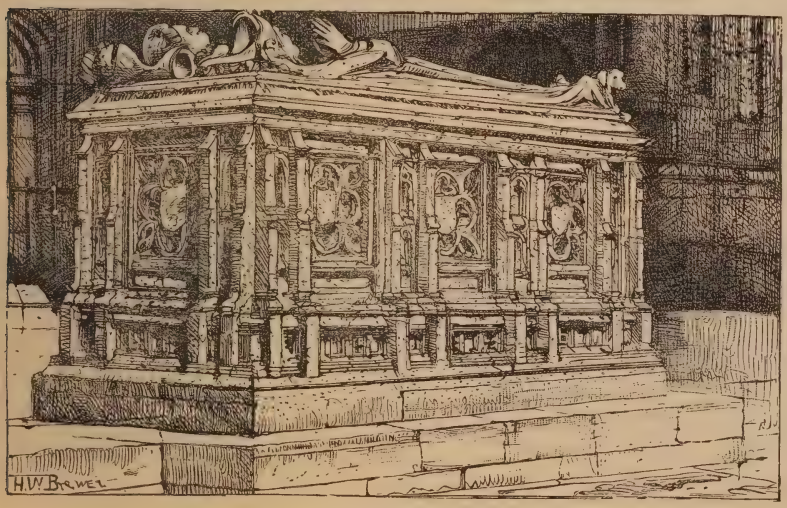


CROSBY HALL IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

three rooms, which formed only a small part of the house. Probably there were two great quadrangles, and now only a fragment of the original design remained. Richard of Gloucester moved to Westminster after the citizens had offered him the crown in Crosby Hall, and the two young Princes disappeared.

After Richard's occupation the structure passed into the hands of two or three Lord Mayors. Sir Bartholomew Reed, who entertained Katharine of Arragon here two days before her marriage with Prince Arthur, was Lord Mayor in 1502; and the next owner, Sir John Best, was Lord Mayor in 1516; and it finally came into possession of Sir Thomas More, who gave it up for a more charming house at Chelsea. One of the owners of

Crosby Hall was the Countess of Pembroke, patroness of Shakespeare, and there was no doubt that the dramatist was a parishioner of St. Helen's, and worshipped in that church. Then Crosby Hall became the property of Sir John Spencer, whose daughter Alice eloped with Sir William Compton. At this occurrence Sir John Spencer was greatly enraged, but Queen Elizabeth afterwards effected a reconciliation. She asked him if he would be sponsor for a child in which she felt an interest. He of course felt flattered at the request, and it was his own grandchild for whom he stood sponsor. By that fortunate marriage the Earl of Northampton, the infant in question, became enriched, and the family own their wealth. During the Commonwealth Crosby Hall was used as a prison for the Cavaliers and their adherents. In 1676 a fire destroyed a great portion of



ST. HELEN'S. MONUMENT TO SIR JOHN CROSBY.

the house, and from that time it gradually decayed. It was used as a Presbyterian Chapel for some years, then for evening schools; and after a precarious existence became a restaurant.

The tombs of Sir John Spencer and of Sir John Crosby were pointed out in the church.

Having listened with much interest to Mr. Birch's remarks, the party set out to see the rooms which represent Crosby Hall. The great hall together with the minstrel's gallery, is 67 feet long, 28 feet broad, and 40 feet high. The roof is a worthy rival of the roofs of Westminster Hall and the great Hall of Henry VIII. at Hampton Court. This roof, as well as the great oriel on the west side of the hall, have been carefully described

by the Rev. Thomas Hugo in the *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society*. The roof is divided into eight bays by large ribs, which rest on richly mounted octagonal corbels. Each of these ribs contains within its span four arches which drop on three octagonal pendants. From each of these pendants an arch springs to the next rib, so that every pendant is the centre of four arches. The spandrels of these overhanging arches are filled with delicate Perpendicular tracery, and the ribs themselves are decorated with a profusion of flowers and foliage. In the centre of the fourth bay from the south end is a hexagonal louvre or lantern to allow the smoke to escape from a fire lighted in the middle of the hall. This may not, however, have been used, for there was a fireplace at the north end.

Below the minstrel's gallery at the south end was the original main entrance—and opposite it, at the north end, the daïs. The beautiful oriel on the west side of the hall rises the entire height of the room. It is formed by five sides of an octagon, at the angles of which are clustered shafts which rise from octagonal plinths. From the capitals of these shafts spring ribs which diverge and form the groining of a richly-ornamented ceiling. At the numerous points where the ribs and branches intersect one another are bosses of foliage, the centre boss bearing the crest of the founder, Sir John Crosby—*a ram trippant argent, armed and hoofed or*. An arched doorway communicates with the Council Chamber—so called because Richard III., whilst yet Duke of Gloucester, held council here—and above the Council Chamber is the Throne Room, where perhaps the citizens of London offered him the Crown of England. The vaults of Crosby House, for the most part, remain ceiled over with brick arches. They are only interesting as giving a clue to the size and form of the original mansion. An illustration of the Hall will be found on p. 195 of this volume.

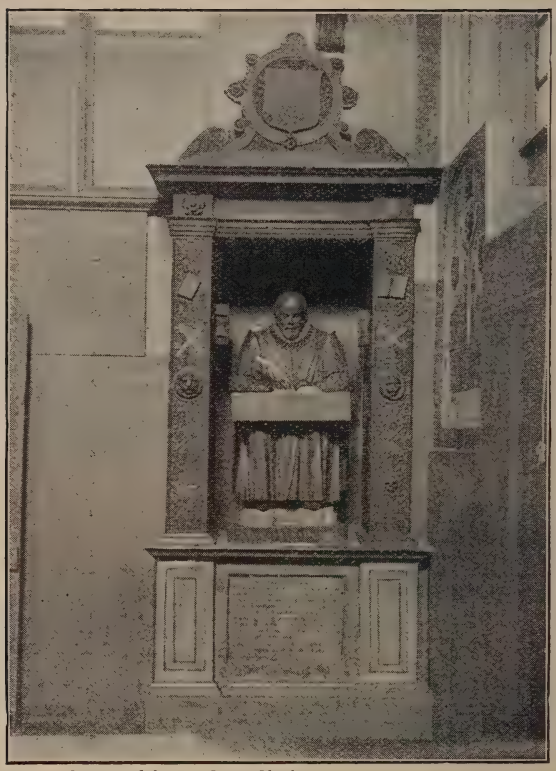
After thanking the manager for allowing the party to visit the premises during the busiest part of the day, a move was made to the Church of

ST. ANDREW UNDERSHAFT,

where the Rector, the Rev. W. Frazer Nash, received the Society.

The church had been described by Mr. Macalister in the *Notes* as follows :—

This church is rather later in date, and larger in size than St. Olave's, Hart Street. The building as we see it dates entirely from the commencement of the 16th century, at which period the previous structure was entirely removed and the present church erected; the date of its completion is about 1532. The plan is of the ordinary city church type—nave and chancel distinguished by the floor levels only, without an arch between; and aisles extending along the whole, or almost the whole, length



From a photograph by Dr. Oscar Clarke.

ST. ANDREW UNDERSHAFT.

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of the building. In the present case the eastern portion of the chancel projects slightly beyond the ends of the aisles. The arcade on each side is of six bays, two of which belong to the chancel. The rood staircase remains in the north aisle wall; east of this is the vestry. The tower and porch occupy the end of the south aisle.

The handsome organ-case deserves notice; and of the monuments the most interesting, both historically and artistically, is that of John Stow, antiquary and historiographer of London (1605), which is at the east end of the north wall. The monument consists of a life-sized effigy seated full-face, writing at a desk; the bust strongly recalls that of Shakespeare at Stratford-on-Avon. The other monuments worthy of notice are all in the same aisle: they consist of a brass to Nicholas Leveson and his numerous family, 1539, at the east end; another to Simon Burton and his two wives, 1593, on the west side of the vestry door; a very neat little mural monument, with small effigy, to Alice Bynge, 1616, daughter of the last-named, who had three husbands, "all bachelers and stacioners;" the great monument of Sir Hoare Hammersley, Lord Mayor, 1627, representing the deceased and his wife kneeling under a heavy canopy; and a tablet, very good of its kind, dated 1662, to Sir Christopher Clitherow, Lord Mayor, 1635, and his family. There is a modern brass in the south aisle to the memory of Hans Holbein, who was "some time resident in this parish."

The church which preceded the present building was erected in 1362, but no further particulars are known regarding it. The present fabric has not undergone any structural alteration since its completion in 1552. It was "repaired and beautified" in 1627, and again in 1704, but all the fittings introduced at these dates have unfortunately been removed in recent restorations.

The name "Undershaft" (which distinguishes this church from the two other churches dedicated to St. Andrew that formerly existed inside the city walls) is derivered from a long may-pole, higher than the church steeple, that used to be erected here every May-day. It was originally kept under a pent-house in Shaft Alley (now gone). In 1517, however, the apprentices took part in a riotous agitation against alien settlers, and the injury to native traders consequent on their competition: the riot was so serious as to necessitate the execution of the ringleaders. In consequence of this disturbance, May-day, 1517, was long known as "Evil May-day," and the may-pole was never afterwards erected. It remained undisturbed under its pent-house till 1549, when the inhabitants of Shaft Alley, fired by a sermon against Idolatry, delivered at Paul's Cross, cut it into pieces and burnt it.

Mr. Birch further described the church, and pointed out the features of interest. After leaving St. Andrew's, Mr. Birch took the party into the

Church of St. Catherine Cree, and gave an interesting account of the building, which was all the more appreciated as this visit was not included in the programme. The following description of the church is reprinted from his large work on *London Churches of the 17th and 18th Centuries* :—

ST. CATHERINE CREE, LEADENHALL STREET.

This very extraordinary church, certainly one of the most curious in the city, deserves a monograph almost to itself. It is not only valuable in the history of art, but also for its place and connection in the ecclesiastical history of this country.

The "old order changeth," and nowhere can this change be seen, this transition noted, better than in this fabric. In plan we still find here the typical mediæval church such as was formerly to be found in many a parish of Old London, and which exists untouched in the neighbouring parish of St. Andrew Undershaft. Nave and chancel under one roof, aisles prolonged to the extreme east end, a tower at the south-west corner, opening into the nave and south aisles by arches, in few respects differing from other churches of the 15th century, and yet if we look closely we cannot help noting one or two departures from the usual plan. The tower, for instance, does not entirely fill the south-west angle, and it is entirely independent of the arcade, suggesting that, when the church was rebuilt and enlarged, the original tower had been left, and only recased and altered externally. The arcade again is not equally spaced, the last bay being much narrower; and another striking peculiarity is that the north aisle suddenly narrows to only half its width for the last two bays westward. The irregularity of the site probably had much to do with this, bounded as it was by a narrow lane, anything but parallel with the eastern boundary. At present there is only one entrance, that under the tower, but another existed at the east end of the north aisle. Encroachments up to the very walls of the church have robbed the church of this, and have also considerably darkened the great east window, and blocked those at the ends of the aisles.

The piers or columns are not moulded, but are columns of the Composite order, carrying semicircular arches, the soffites of which are coffered, with a circular flower in the centre of each coffer; the arches have well-moulded architraves, and above them runs a cornice the lower mouldings of which mitre with the architraves. Above the cornice is a lofty and well-proportioned clerestory, the windows of which and also those of the aisles are peculiar: they are of three lights with cinque-foiled heads; the centre light in each case is higher, and a square-headed moulding breaks round them; the cills are splayed, and between each is a square pilaster with a boldly moulded cap and base springing from corbels of which not two are alike, and these corbels partly occupy the spandrels

between the arches. From the caps of these pilasters spring the vaulting ribs; the vault itself is very flat in section, and in the centre of each compartment is a large boss or centre flower with the arms of one of the City Companies, Goldsmiths, Fishmongers, Merchant Taylors, etc., in high relief, coloured and gilt. The vaulting of the aisles is quadripartite, with moulded wall, diagonal and ridge ribs. Springing from corbels only the vaulting of the two bays forming the chancel is much richer.

The great east window is a very fine composition, consisting of a wheel or rose contained in a square, with the corners filled with tracery, separated by a horizontal transom from five lower lights with cinque-foiled heads, recalling slightly in form the magnificent Rose window which once closed the eastern perspective of Old St. Paul's. Some of the glass in this window is early 18th century, being the gift of Sir Samuel Stanier, who was Lord Mayor in the first year of George I.'s reign; some glass in the rose itself may be earlier still, dating probably from 1628. The lower lights have been subsequently filled in with figure subjects and heraldry. The oak reredos below has been considerably altered. Originally it had a painted perspective of columns with cherubim and seraphim and full-length figures of Moses and Aaron, surmounted by the royal arms. The still earlier one of Laud's time of Bermuda cedar and the rails were removed during the Civil War. The area within the rails was paved with black and white marble. All this work was probably executed subsequent to the reign of Queen Anne. To each of the arches there is a keystone which occurs on both sides, and here again, as in the corbels, much graceful fancy has been displayed in the variety of their treatment. On two of these keystones occur the date of consecration, 1630. All this carving work deserves study, for it shows that the designer was far above the average, and of no mean ability.

Another most curious feature in this church is the font, with its contemporary carved and gilt oak cover, which for quaintness and quiet harmony of proportion is unrivalled. Internally the seats have been lowered, but the oak wainscoting has been retained, the chancel has been stalled, and the old carving inserted. Two sword-rests of similar design are affixed to the two front seats, and there is a very beautiful oak doorcase (which originally screened the door at the east end of the north aisle), but now forms the entrance to the vestry, Externally the church is very curious, with its mullioned windows, and low tower, and curious battlements, which alone would arrest the steps of any lover of architecture, but afford no indication of the beauties within.

It should be mentioned that there is a small organ gallery, access to which blocks both the west door and west window, if ever they were intended to be of use, which is doubtful. The organ case itself is very

richly carved, and probably dates from 1686, when the church was repaired and beautified.

The history of this church deserves to be recorded. Matilda, eighth in direct descent from Alfred the Great, and tenth from Egbert, the first King of England, married Henry I., by which marriage Henry considerably augmented and consolidated his power. She herself was the daughter of Malcolm III. of Scotland, by his wife, Margaret, the sainted Queen, sister of Edgar Atheling, and was much beloved by the people of England. About 1108 she founded the magnificent Norman priory of the Holy Trinity Aldgate, just within the walls, and to do this and to get sufficient ground for the erection of this huge priory church and its dependencies, four parishes already existing were united, St. Mary Magdalen, St. Michael, St. Catherine, and Holy Trinity, and the parishioners were allowed the use of the nave of the Priory Church of the Austin Canons. This led to inconvenience, and the result was that a church was built in the cemetery of the priory and called St. Catherine Cree, an abbreviation of Christchurch, by which the priory was more generally known. At the Dissolution, unlike the other two fine sister churches of the Austin Canons in London, St. Mary Overie and St. Bartholomew Smithfield, Christchurch, the finest of the three, was entirely destroyed, and the little church of St. Catherine passed with the other possessions of the priory to Thomas, Lord Audley, but eventually the parishioners managed to regain their own. In 1628 it had become so ruinous that it was decided to rebuild it. Inigo Jones was then the only architect of repute, and although no documentary evidence at present is forthcoming to substantiate the statement, there is but little doubt, from points of resemblance to other well-known and authenticated works of his, that he was the architect. Laud was then Bishop of London, and in that capacity consecrated this church on January 16th, 1630. As already mentioned,[1] that prelate exerted his influence to maintain the continuity of the Church, not only in doctrine, but in the visible fabric, and this church was the natural outcome. The ceremonies he used, which were no more than the ordinary consecration services, actually formed one of the articles of his impeachment. Prynne's garbled version of these would be almost grotesque in its ludicrousness were it not that it led to Laud's martyrdom on Tower Hill on the 10th of January, 1645, fifteen years afterwards, and on the same day that the use of the Book of Common Prayer was decreed to be felony by that paramount power which the so-called House of Commons had arrogated to itself. For this reason the church of St. Catherine Cree becomes inseparably linked with the history of the Church and nation, and possesses more than ordinary interest. The monuments are interesting.

1 See Part I. of this vol., p. 188.

After an interval for lunch the party proceeded to the church of

ST. MARY ABCHURCH,

which was built by Sir Christopher Wren, and finished in 1686. The Rector, the Rev. G. F. Wright, received the Society, and then Mr. E. GUY DAWBER read a paper on the church, which is printed on p. 202 of this volume.

The next place visited was the church of

ST. STEPHEN WALBROOK,

one of the earliest to be erected after the great fire.

When the Rector, the Rev. W. WINTLE, had expressed the pleasure it gave himself and the Churchwardens to welcome the Society, Mr. GUY DAWBER gave an account of the church. This will be found on p. 205 of this volume.

A walk down Coleman Street brought the party to

THE ARMOURERS' AND BRAZIERS' HALL,

which has stood on the same site for over 500 years. It was fortunate enough to escape the great fire, and the Company therefore possesses some magnificent old plate and armour, as well some fine pictures.

They pride themselves especially on the possession of a piece of plate named the Richmond Cup, presented by John Richmond in 1557, and insured by the Guild for £1,000. It is a silver gilt cup and cover, standing twelve and a half inches high, measuring five inches in diameter, and weighing thirty ounces. The upper and larger portion of the bowl is fashioned in graduated rounded lobes, enlarging as they radiate outwards, while the cover is fashioned similar to the bowl, with rounded and ridged lobes and a collar of leaves. It is used as a loving cup once annually, to give dignity to the drinking of the health of the newly-elected Master by the Past-Master and Wardens. Two similar cups remain in the possession of New College and Pembroke College, Oxford, and the latter is stamped with the date 1481. The form of the rose on the Richmond Cup suggests that it is pre-Tudor, and that its date may be earlier by fifteen years. The Guild possesses several other cups of elegant workmanship and design, notably the Chapman Cup of 1581, the Dixon Cup of 1598, the Lycroft Cup of 1608, the Foster Cup of 1631, Thomas Tyndale's tankard, and a beautiful flagon and cover of the date 1574. The most ancient piece of plate the Guild possesses is a Mazer bowl, presented by the first Master in 1453. It stands six inches in height and is eleven and a quarter inches in diameter, and has been restored on different occasions until only the raised boss in the centre remains of the original bowl. It has a wooden exterior, with a gilt lining bearing the date 1578 and worked in three devices. There is a wealth of old seal spoons and champagne-shaped silver wine

cups, which were used until lately at all dinners. Each Master makes a present to the Guild of plate on election. By this means the Guild have obtained a superfluity of spoons and forks, and have worked down to silver venison plates, which in due time will be supplemented by something else. The modern plate was not on exhibition.

At the foot of the staircase are suits of armour of an officer and pikeman of the time of Charles I. In the Hall are a 16th century tilting suit, and some German swords. Amongst the pictures are Northcote's "Entry of Bolingbroke with Richard III. into London," "The Four Seasons," "A Portrait of Roger Tyndale, Master, 1585"; "Romeo and Juliet," by Miller; "Olivia as a Page," by Hamilton; "George I.," by Vanderbank; and "George II. and Queen Caroline," by Shackleton.

The Armourers and Braziers were united in 1708. The Armourers had their ordinances in 1322. In the 16th century they had the right of search in any armourer's workshop, and of seizure of any armour improperly made, or of bad steel. In 1428 they had their chantry in St. Paul's, dedicated to St. George the Martyr. They got their first charter from Henry VI., who was a member of their Guild, in 1453. In 1559 Elizabeth, and in 1619 James I., confirmed their charter and renewed their rights. The Braziers were a distinct Guild as early as 1578. Queen Anne incorporated the two guilds as one.

The Master of the Company, Mr. C. G. Hale, and the Wardens, Mr. G. Marshall and Mr. Sherwin, who wore their fur-trimmed robes, received the Society.

In an interesting and amusing explanatory speech on the object of the Guild, the MASTER told how their first charter was obtained from Henry VI., who, they believed, became a member of their Guild in 1453. Any uncertainty on this score was absolutely removed by the large entry in the accounts signifying the price paid for the charter. In the mediæval days the Guild had been active in the searching of brass and the inspection of armour, to see that it was duly approved and marked by the makers, and to counteract an evil which had crept into their profession of an English firm eliminating an Italian maker's name from imported armour in order to sell it as home-made goods. History had merely repeated itself in the story told to-day of English marks on German goods sent to Sheffield. He maintained that the Guild were upheld to-day for other objects than that of eating dinners in the hall off silver platters—their funds were largely devoted to amplifying charitable work. The charters of the Guild, which had been augmented in the reign of Queen Anne, and had taken the motto, "We are one," were shown photographed in a book. They dated from the reign of Edward VI., Elizabeth, and James I., and were written in Latin.

The speech of the Master was received with applause, and the

many objects of value in the court dining-room, the court room (in which are hung copies of the charters), and the drawing-room, were then examined.

The party then proceeded to the

HALL OF THE DRAPERS' COMPANY

where they were received by the Master, Mr. R. N. Dalton, and the Wardens, who most hospitably provided afternoon tea.

The Hall stands on the site of the princely residence of Thomas Cromwell, the servant and successor of Cardinal Wolsey as favourite of Henry VIII. He was Vicar-General of the King and Earl of Essex. One of the most unscrupulous of men, he brought numbers of the best and noblest of England's sons and daughters to ruin or the block—and he himself, unpitied, ended his career on Tower Hill in 1543. On his attainder his estates escheated to the King, and his mansion was purchased by the Drapers, who occupied it till 1666, when it was destroyed in the great fire.

The muniments and plate were fortunately preserved. The Hall was re-built soon after, and again in 1774 was partly destroyed. It was restored in 1841, and rebuilt in 1870, after the design of Herbert Williams.

A handsome winding staircase of coloured marble, decorated with statues of Edward III. and Queen Philippa, leads to the Banqueting Hall, which is splendidly adorned. Amongst the many portraits possessed by the Company is one by Zucchero of Mary, Queen of Scots, and her son James. At the back of the Hall is a remnant of the old garden, with two of its famous mulberry trees still alive.

The Drapers have existed as a Guild for nearly 700 years; for Henry Fitz Alwyn, Draper of London, bequeathed to them his estates near Queenhithe in 1215, the year in which King John signed Magna Charta.

The first charter of the Company was granted by Edward III., in 1364, and many others were granted by successive sovereigns. In all these early charters, *sisters* as well as brethren of the fraternities are mentioned.

The Drapers' Guild claimed St. Mary as their patron. The Company have been ever famous for their hospitality, and a list of their guests would include many of the great and noble who have dwelt in London, or have visited it, from the time of the Plantagenets to the end of the 19th century. There were 96 members of the Guild in 1415; in 1879 there were 302. The ancient manner of proceeding to Westminster Hall on Lord Mayor's Day was on horseback; but in 1453 the Drapers took the initiative in acquiring a state barge for the use of the Company.

The Bridges of Coberley and Sudeley Castle, Lords Chandos and Dukes of Chandos and Buckingham; the Pulteneys, Earls of Bath; the Chapels, Earls of Essex; and Lord Mayors innumerable have been members of the Company.

The MASTER directed the attention of his visitors to some valuable tapestries which had been taken a hundred years ago from the Royal Palace at Madrid by the French. These disappeared and were found some thirty years ago in London, when they were purchased for the Company.

A valuable collection of gold and silver plate was set out for inspection. This included an elegant gold cup and cover, 1578-9; silver dishes, 1658 and 1674; Monteith bowl, 1685; and a rare specimen of a "voiding knife," given by Sir Edward Barkham, knight, and alderman of London, in the year 1634.

Before leaving, the HON. SECRETARY, on behalf of the Council of the Society, presented to the Master and Wardens of the Drapers' Company a copy of Smythe's *Lives of the Berkeleys.*

The next item in the programme was a visit to

THE BARBERS' HALL,

where the Society were received in the Court-room by Mr. Sidney Young, the Deputy-Master, in the absence of the Master, Mr. R. Hovenden. Mr. YOUNG gave an interesting account of the Guild, taken from his work, *Annals of the Barber-Surgeons.*

The united guilds dated their corporate origin from the grant of the charter by Henry VIII. in 1509; but the Barbers' Guild is mentioned as early as 1308, and no doubt existed even before that date. They obtained letters patent from Edward IV. in 1461, giving them power over all foreigners "being barbers and using the mistery of surgery" with the duty of examining their surgical instruments; and every barber, before he presumed to enter upon his profession, was compelled to seek approval from the Master of the Guild. The Barbers enjoyed immunity from bearing armour and serving on watches, juries and assizes. In 1745 the union between the Barbers and Surgeons was dissolved, and the Barbers remained in possession of the hall and estates on payment of £510 and the surrender of an annuity of £16.

The buildings at present consist of a 17th century porch, the court-room, and three or four smaller rooms on the ground first floor. The hall, which is said to have been more than once re-built—*i.e.* in the reign of James I. by Inigo Jones, and after the great fire of 1666—has disappeared, and its site is occupied by warehouses. This hall, which appears to have been used in the 18th century as a surgical theatre or dissecting-room, is figured by Hogarth in his "Four Stages of Cruelty." The president is seated in his chair of state, and is pointing with his wand to the body of Thomas Nero, a murderer, which had been handed over to the Barber-Surgeons for dissection, and is undergoing that unpleasant process.

The court-room contains some excellent pictures: "The Duchess of Richmond," by Sir Peter Lely; "Inigo Jones," by Van Dyck (this great

architect was the son of a Barber-Surgeon), and a grand picture by Holbein of "Henry VIII.," while yet a young man, handing a charter to the Master, Thomas Vicary, and the brethren of the Guild. One figure in the group is that of John Pen, the king's barber, who was the grandfather of William Pen. This picture, for which the Company are said to have refused £12,000, was greatly injured in the fire of 1666, and had a narrow escape from the fire of 1897.[1] The picture is described in the *Catalogue* of the Tudor Exhibition.

The Company possesses some valuable plate, of which the following pieces are especially worthy of notice: (1) A silver-gilt standing cup and cover, 1523-4. This was given to the Company by Henry VIII. in 1540, and is known as the "Grace cup." It is described in the *Catalogue* of the Tudor Exhibition as follows: "It was probably originally a standing mazer, the maple-wood bowl having been replaced in silver-gilt. The band is delicately engraved with arabesque leafwork, with Tudor badges, and is attached to the foot by four slender straps with lions' heads at the top, from each of which hangs a small bell. In the bottom of the bowl are the Company's arms, a chevron between three fleams, impaling a crowned rose. The foot has a kind of capital of leaves and scrolls, and the stem and base richly chased with foliage and Tudor badges. The cover is beautifully chased with the rose, portcullis and *fleur-de-lis*, surrounded by scrollwork and foliage, and is surrounded by a broad button, on which are a lion and a greyhound supporting a crowned shield of the royal arms. Inside the cover is engraved: 'Henrici R munificentia Ne posteris ignota maneat. Johannes Knight R.C.P. 1678.' Hall-marks: London, 1523-4." (2) The Royal oak cup with crowned cover, given by Charles II. (3) A cup given by Queen Anne. (4) Four silver crowns, dated 1609, worn by the Master and the three Wardens on certain occasions.

It is interesting to note that the Richard Ferris, whose adventurous voyage in a small rowing boat from Tower Wharf to Bristol is described in a book printed in London in 1590,[2] was probably the son of Queen Elizabeth's Barber-Surgeon of that name.

1 The group of Barbers which is reproduced here, by the courtesy of Messrs. Swan and Sonnenschein, forms part of this celebrated picture.

2 See Hyett and Bazeley, *Manual of Gloucestershire Literature*, vol. iii., p. 2.

A long day's sight-seeing was brought to a close by a very enjoyable visit in the evening to the

SOANE MUSEUM,

where the Society was welcomed by the Curator, Mr. G. H. Birch, F.S.A. This Museum, which is situated at No. 13, Lincoln's Inn Fields, formerly the residence of Sir John Soane, F.R.S., F.S.A., is comparatively little known. The principal room, to the right on entering, contains among many other interesting objects a series of Chippendale chairs inlaid with mother-of pearl, one of Sir Joshua Reynolds' *chefs d'œuvres*, the "Snake in the Grass," a model of Soane's design for the Treasury at Whitehall, and a Greek vase, known as the Cawdor vase. A door at the north-west angle of the dining-room leads to the breakfast-room, containing portraits and other relics of Napoleon I. The north-east door of the dining-room brings the visitor to a room full of casts, and in the basement are some fine Egyptian antiquities. The picture-room contains the gems of the collection, the series of pictures by Hogarth entitled the "Rake's Progress." There is a good example of Bird, of Bristol, the "Cheat Detected"; and a portrait of Soane by Jackson. In the new picture gallery there is a splendid Canaletti, a landscape by Callcott, and Turner's "Van Tromp's Barge Entering the Texel." The front drawing-room, on the first floor, contains some beautiful Oriental ivory furniture, pictures, miniatures, manuscripts, &c ; and in the room behind it is a model of Pompeii, cases of gems, and drawers full of drawings. Sir John Soane, the founder, died in 1737, aged 84, and left his house and collections to the people of England, the present representatives of whom ought to be very grateful to him. He was architect to the Office of Works, and to the Bank of England, the exterior of which was designed by him. He was also professor of architecture to the Royal Academy.

After the treasures of the Museum had been examined, Mr. BAZELEY expressed to Mr. Birch the great obligations of the Society to him for his help in preparing the programme for this meeting, and for the services which he had rendered as guide. Mr. Bazeley then begged Mr. Birch to accept from him, on behalf of the Society, a copy of Smythe's *Lives of the Berkeleys*.

FRIDAY, JULY 15TH.

The proceedings of the Fifth Day of the Meeting began with a visit to

WESTMINSTER HALL,

where a very large party were met by the President, Sir John Dorington, Bart., M.P., and Mr. A. J. S. Milman, C.B., one of the clerks to the House of Commons, who acted as guides, and took the greatest pains to point out

and explain all the interesting features of the great Hall of the Houses of Parliament.

Westminster Hall, which was visited first, was built originally by William Rufus, but almost entirely re-built by Richard II. in 1397–99. It has a fine groined porch with a square head above the pointed arch. The spandrels are ornamented with quatrefoils, enclosing shields. The large windows above the porch and at the west end are divided into panels by vertical mullions and one transom. On either side of the central gable are square towers of two stages, in the lower stage of which are niches with canopies. On either side of the central doorway is very beautiful tabernacle work consisting of eleven niches, surmounted by arcading of small narrow arches. The chestnut roof of the hall is perhaps the earliest example we possess of a Perpendicular wooden roof. The space between the collar-beams and rafters is filled with open panel-work. On the stone mouldings appears the device of Richard II., a white hart chained, and gorged with a ducal coronet. The hall is 290 feet long, 68 wide, and 92 high; it now forms the vestibule to the Houses of Parliament.

In the space in front of Westminster Hall the Duke of Hamilton, Lord Capel, and Henry Rich, Earl of Holland, were beheaded for their allegiance to Charles I.; and Leighton, Prynne, and Perkin Warbeck were pilloried or put in the stocks. In the hall itself many scenes that will be remembered as long as England remains a nation were witnessed. Here were tried and condemned: William Wallace, Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, Stafford, Duke of Buckingham (the builder of Thornbury Castle), Sir Thomas More, Somerset, Howard, Duke of Norfolk, and Devereux, Earl of Essex, 1601; though the last was not executed. Here Charles I. beheld the trial of Strafford in 1641, and eight years later heard himself condemned to die. Here in later years were tried and acquitted the seven Bishops, Trelawney, Bishop of Bristol, being one of them.

St. Stephen's Chapel has been twice destroyed by fire, whilst the crypt, which dates from 1292, has twice escaped. From the time of Edward VI. to 1834 St. Stephen's Chapel was used by the Lower House of Parliament for their meetings. It was a beautiful example of Gothic architecture, covered with frescoes illustrating the Old and New Testaments. It has been restored since 1840 to much of its ancient beauty.

Sir JOHN DORINGTON reminded the archæologists that they were in one of the most ancient buildings in London, and the hall was the oldest part remaining of the original Palace of Westminster. He adverted to the remark of William Rufus when he built the hall, that he meant it only for a bedroom for the palace he was about to rear. As, however, he was killed in the following year, that grand aspiration was never completed. When the hall was first erected, Sir John reminded them, it was not as

they saw it now, of the same dimensions, and there were two rows of pillars down the middle carrying the roof, so that it lacked the magnificent appearance it had at present.

Mr. MILMAN stated that the flight of steps leading up from the hall had been added by Mr. Barry, the architect, and he pointed out the old part of the hall towards the top of the steps. There are quaint old pictures connected with this portion of the structure, and Sir JOHN DORINGTON referred to one in which two courts are represented, the occupants penned in, and the spectators in the hall able to see what took place in these judicial compartments. He also spoke of another picture, showing the courts with a high timber partition.

This reference to the courts at Westminster led to an allusion to the courts opening from the side of the hall, which were done away with when Mr. Street's big building came to be erected in the Strand. The hall and its associations led to some queries concerning the dynamite explosion, and Mr. Milman was able to furnish particulars of this outrage. He pointed out the spot where five people were being conducted by a policeman who heard the click of an infernal machine, and hurried to remove it; but the contrivance proved too hot and exploded, blowing off some slates on the roof and injuring a window. Fortunately the explosion took place when the House of Commons was empty, but Mr. Milman appeared to possess a vivid recolleciion of the occurrence, as he stated the dynamite cut the back of his chair, in which, providentially, he was not then sitting.

When the crypt was visited some interesting particulars of details of the work were given by Sir JOHN and Mr. MILMAN. The former read over some of the items and prices paid for labour. The term "joggit" appeared to puzzle the party, the nearest explanation afforded being that it might mean a load, Mr. WITTS pointing out that a similar word was used to this day in Gloucestershire. The crypt is just underneath the old chapel of St. Stephen's, and the decoration as it now exists was Pugin's work.

From the Crypt the party were conducted by the cloisters to the House of Commons, where Sir JOHN DORINGTON said that every new Parliament which met complained that the proportions were not sufficient; but after eighteen months' experience they expressed themselves quite satisfied with it, as the members were pleased to have a room where they could be heard easily when they spoke. He stated that when built the room was handsomer than at present; but it was difficult for the occupants to hear, and so it was altered and the present waggon roof adopted. Perhaps no greater interest was experienced in any object in the chamber than in the box on which were marks made by the ring worn by Mr. Gladstone when in his warmer moments he addressed the House.

When the party went to the old Chapel of St. Stephen, at present the public entrance to the Palace, Mr. MILMAN pointed to the statue of

Grattan, and said that near there a lobby existed with a gallery over for the press and public. He pointed out the place where Mr. Perceval was assassinated. In connection with the chapel, Mr. Milman pointed out that the eldest son of the sovereign when made a Knight of the Bath used to watch in this place through the whole of the night, and he and the knights who watched with him, after a bath, on the morning following used to attend mass at the Abbey. In that chapel, too, Richard of York, the elder of the two young Princes, was married when nine years old to a great heiress.

An opportunity of seeing the interior of the House of Lords was afforded, as an appeal was being argued, and therefore there was an open court. As the party left the Houses of Parliament by way of Westminster Hall, Sir JOHN DORINGTON remarked that the condition of the wall at the side where courts used to be was said to be most excellent; it, however, was decaying, and Mr. Wethered gave as the reason for this that it was a sandstone, and the carbonic gas of London was disintegrating the sand.

After visiting the Terrace, the party crossed over to

WESTMINSTER ABBEY,

where they were met by Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A., from whose paper, read before the Archæological Institute in 1893, the following account of the building is chiefly drawn:—

The church consists of an Early English choir with aisles of ambulatory and surrounding chapels; a crossing with two transepts, all built in the reign of Henry III., from 1245—1269; a nave with aisles built at three different periods and completed at a fourth: the easternmost bay in 1245-60, the three next bays in 1260-69, the six western bays and narthex in 1388—1420, and completed by insertion of west doorway and window, about 1500; and lastly, a Lady Chapel, known as Henry VII.'s Chapel, which was built by that sovereign as a tomb for himself and family in the last years of his reign, the first decade of the 16th century.

The Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter, Westminster, was founded or refounded by Edward the Confessor, and built, not in the Saxon but in the Norman style, by builders who came at his request from Normandy.

This Church of the Confessor, of which nothing but the bases of two of the choir columns remain, was cruciform in shape, with a lofty tower similar to that at Tewkesbury; the choir had an aspidal east end and its aisles were of two stories, both vaulted; the nave had two western towers, as at Durham. The choir proper was under the tower, and the cloister and conventual buildings were on the south side. The nave was evidently unfinished at the time of the Confessor's death, and was completed by the Norman Conquerors.

Probably no unprejudiced enquirer can read the description of the

old church by Sir Gilbert Scott (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xxiii.) and compare it with Mr. Freeman's description of St. Peter's Abbey, now the Cathedral, Gloucester, without feeling fairly sure that the Norman church, of course without the accretions and alterations of the 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, which we have at present, is the church which Aldred, Bishop of Worcester, "a fundamentis construxit de novo" in 1058—and to which Serlo added the nave and the under-pinning of the crypt at the end of the 11th century. The same apsidal end, the same two-storied, vaulted aisles, the same western towers!

The conventual buildings were very similar to those at Gloucester, except that they were placed on the south side, whereas we have them on

WESTMINSTER ABBEY. WEST FRONT.

the north, and that the Chapter House was farther east than ours. The history of the rebuilding of the choir, transepts, and four eastern bays of the nave during the long reign of Henry III. must be read, like "sermons in stones," in the work as we see it. The Early English builders seem to have started from the east end of the choir and to have

built westward, finishing the north transept, however, before they destroyed and commenced re-building the south transept. The work was so far completed in 1269 that the new choir was ready for service. The cloisters were rebuilt at the same time as far westward as the fourth bay of the nave. The western part of the nave and the Lady Chapel were left in the state that Henry III. found them uutil the time of Richard II., when the re-building went on again. It continued during his reign, stopped for some reason in the reign of his successor, then went on again vigorously during the short reign of Henry V. The Wars of the Roses arrested the work till the reign of Henry VII.; then, about 1500, the nave was completed and opened up to the choir. The nave was barely finished when Henry VII. commenced re-building the Lady Chapel as a place of sepulture for himself and his family. When the beautiful Tudor Lady Chapel was completed the Abbey became much as we see it at the present day.

Mr. MICKLETHWAITE conducted the Society over the whole of the buildings, and did his best to explain to the party—rather too numerous for the occasion—the history and meaning of the architectural features of the church.

In the Chapter House, on being asked if the House of Commons did not formerly sit there, Mr. Micklethwaite said the House of Commons used to borrow the Chapter House; but as a matter of fact they sat anywhere, one place being a barn still in existence. After the suppression of the monastic houses the House of Commons had St. Stephen's for their sittings. As to the wax figures in the Abbey, Mr. Micklethwaite said that of Charles II. was good, but the others were no better than rubbish. In the cloisters Mr. Micklethwaite gave some particulars respecting the monks who used to live there, and he described the treasury and dormitories. The trial of the Pyx took place in a picturesque portion of the building, which was now the property of the Crown. That building was sometimes called the Chapel of the Pyx; but it never was a chapel, and "pyx" meant the box where the small coins were kept. There used to be a school kept in the cloisters, and the novices were taught their letters. Now and then the young fellows became idle, and played a game with squares and nine holes, something like "tick, tack, toe," a reminiscence of which existed in the cloister. There was a cupboard near where the lads kept their Latin grammars.

In the afternoon a visit was paid to

THE TEMPLE.

When the members and their friends had assembled in the dining-room of the Middle Temple, Sir JOHN DORINGTON, who could not attend at the opening meeting, read his address, which as President of the Society he would have delivered on that occasion.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

TWENTY-TWO years ago, at Bristol, this Society held its Inaugural Meeting. In the years that have flowed by since that date it has, I may venture to say, fully fulfilled the hopes expressed on that occasion by its founders. A wide interest has been awakened in the county of Gloucester in all that concerns its many ancient remains. A centre has been formed, and is well known, to which anyone fancying he has made a discovery and wishing for information may turn. Many volumes of *Transactions* have been published, containing an immense amount of valuable and curious investigations and records of discoveries. A County Map has been published by our retiring President, on which every ancient site is marked and some particulars are given; and not least, by the help of the Society and the industry of its officers more than one work hitherto only in manuscript and inaccessible has been presented to the world in a printed form. I allude to the *Bristol Wills*, the *Lives of the Berkeleys*, the *History of the Hundred of Berkeley*, and the *Bibliographers' Manual of Gloucestershire Literature*—works which ought now to be found in every library worthy of the name. But to a Society such as ours, after a time perhaps satiety fills the minds of the members; their enthusiasm possibly is checked by the want of fresh matter on which to exercise their energies, and they feel as if their work was ended. And so to some extent it may be as regards our own county, except so far as each succeeding generation has to receive from that passing away the knowledge they have gained. And how speedily a generation passes away is strongly brought to mind when we look at the *Transactions* of that first meeting, and miss from amongst existing members the names of Sir W. Guise, of Bishop Clifford, of William Lucy, Lord Redesdale, Lord Sherborne, Professor Rolleston, Sir John Maclean, Mr. Niblett, Mr. George Playne, and many others.

We are now breaking fresh ground. We have come to London, the centre of our English civilisation, the centre

of our English life from the most remote periods that we can trace it to. We have come from *Glevum castra*, or the Fair City, Caer Glou, to the hill or fastness of the marsh (Llyn Dune); and we may notice how early the wide supremacy of London was established in regard of Gloucester, and I believe of all other English cities. When London was first walled, somewhere between 350 and 369, it included about 360 acres, so far as we can now trace the ancient line of walls. When Gloucester was first walled it included 50 acres. We need argue no further as to relative importance, and, though history and tradition in very early times has perhaps been kinder to Gloucester than it has to London, no doubt can remain of the superior importance at all times of the City we are in to that of the one from which we have come.

Now, let us turn back to our opening meeting, and see what was put before us then by Sir William Guise. He spoke at some length of our literary treasures, and, amongst other things, he complained that our County Archives, though extensive, were unindexed and inadequately housed. This is now no longer the case. The enquirer can now learn by a catalogue, which will shortly be printed, all that the County Records can supply, and will find that they are very easy of access and easy to be found. We have also in the copies of the publications of the Record Office, now stored in our County Library, an invaluable mine of historical research.

The City of Gloucester has published a Calendar of its ancient charters, and that most singular street list or "court guide" (if I may use the term), *A Rental of the Houses in Gloucester* in the year 1455, showing where each one lived, many of the tenements, like the "New Inn" and the "Booth Hall," being still capable of identification.

Sir William passed from that to a succinct account of our ancient history, which we have been ever since elaborating in our *Transactions*.

May I take for the subject of my present address the connecting links, or any connecting links I can find, between

London and Gloucester? What were the first conditions of the two cities? Both situated on a great river—both situated at a point where it was first practicable to bridge or pass over the river. London, to the probable origin of whose name I have already referred, situated on the first knoll or dune which arose above the fens and marshes which bordered the estuary of the Thames, and that knoll itself again isolated by the marshes and forests which surrounded it on every side. Have any of my audience ever thought what a low, flat town the greater part of London is, and how large a portion was formerly marsh? If the twenty-five foot contour line above mean high-water mark is taken even now, when it is notorious that the level has been enormously raised artificially by the necessities of building and the destruction of former buildings, what do we find? Passing from west to east, this line is close to the shore of the Thames at Battersea, then runs northwards and back from the river to South Kensington Station on the District Railway, and running eastward it leaves half Eaton Square, Buckingham Palace, St. James' Park, and all Westminster below it. At Charing Cross it comes down to the river brink at the Adelphi Terrace, or rather where the brink was, and then turns along the Strand, passing mid-way through the Temple, and approaches the river at Blackfriars Bridge, where it crosses the Fleet, which ran between steep banks at this point, and so it continues to the Tower, which lies just below it, and formed the extremity of the city wall. It then turns northwards up the Valley of the Lea for about six miles from the river Thames, all between that and the river being marsh. Indeed, the former state of all land below this twenty-five foot contour must have been marsh before the levels by artificial means had been raised. St. Paul's stands on an eminence about fifty feet above the river—by comparison, a proud and lofty elevation. Now, what was the condition of Gloucester? An old map I have seen states that it is set as it were upon a hill. I doubt if Gloucester people quite realise the fact as thus stated, but at the Cross the ground is about sixty feet above the river, and the

parting of the Severn made the stream more manageable for crossing than at any point below. But the marshes on that western side, as at London, made the city very defensible, and, taken possession of by the Romans in the year 43, it was at once surrounded by walls as a necessary security against the Silures. These walls enclosed about fifty acres, and except on the western side were still on the same site in 1643, at the time of the siege. London was supposed to be secure, threatened at first by no dangers, and was not walled until a much later period, as already mentioned, when it was threatened by the Picts.

The effect of Cæsar's invasions, failures as they were so far as giving any possession of these islands at that time, was to increase knowledge and to facilitate intercourse across the narrow seas, and Strabo says: "At the present time some of the princes" (of Britain) "having by their embassies and court gained the friendship of Cæsar Augustus, have dedicated their offerings in the Capitol, and have brought the whole island into a state little short of intimate union with the Romans." (*Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. vii.) This was written about A.D. 20—25.

Consequently, when the Claudian invasion took place, A.D. 43, the Romans, landing on our Southern coast, sought no frontier at or near London, but one far beyond, and passing through friendly tribes, and taking possession of Cirencester, in the country of the Boduni, at once fortified themselves at the frontier of the Severn at Gloucester, building the walls whose foundations have been so carefully and satisfactorily traced of late years by John Bellows in their entire circuit.

Who were these Boduni? It is singular for a nation to be mentioned only once and then entirely to disappear. If I may hazard an opinion I would throw out the suggestion that there was no such tribe at all, and the name was purely a descriptive one, such as strangers might give to people they came amongst—"the dwellers on the hills,"—a very proper name for residents in the Cotswolds, describing at once where they lived and the nature of their country, much as

archæologists now speak of the Lake Dwellers, without for a moment suggesting that this was their proper name. We have the word in the forms Dobuni and Boduni, clearly only a transliteration, pointing, however, to very different roots—the one, valley, certainly not fitting the position; the other, hill men, which is as suitable as the other is the reverse. The name may have been supplied to the Romans by the people of Hampshire and Wiltshire, through which they passed, telling them: "You will find about Cirencester and beyond it Boduni," or, as we should now say, Cotswold or hill people, "and beyond them again the Silures."

We have "bod," to dwell, in Cornish and in Welsh, and "bo" or "bod," with the same signification, both as a verb and a noun, in Gaelic, and "both," a noun, whence we have modern forms, "bothy" and "booth," and "bodach," a frequent name in Scotland for hills, translated "old man," apparently in its root a long-lived or persistent dweller. The German *wohnen*, to dwell, seems to spring from the same root. Then we have the well-known form of "dun" or "dune" for hill, and I think that there can be little doubt that Boduni means the hill people, and in this sense the inhabitants of the Cotswold country, and not a tribal name.[1]

No doubt London looked eagerly to Gloucester and the West, when the Iceni with Boadicea at their head came down on its defenceless territory some twenty-five years later, sweeping all before her, and burning and destroying the unwalled town, and slaying all who could not escape to Suetonius' army hurrying up from Wales. What precise assistance came from Gloucester cannot be said; but garrisoned by the second legion, and nearer to London by a good deal than the point where the General was when he got the bad news, it no doubt supplied a portion of the force which first gave shelter to the flying inhabitants and subse-

[1] Yet there were several gold coins found at Rodmarton, Birdlip, Stow-on-the-Wold, etc., with B O D V O C, "Boduos." The people living on the Cotswolds certainly had a gold coinage of their own.—Evans' *Ancient British Coins*, pp. 134–9.

quently defeated that illustrious British queen, with as little loss to the regular troops of Rome and as large a destruction of the comparatively untrained British force as we are accustomed to hear of in any of our conflicts with nations and tribes on the borders of our existing Empire.

The first distinct connection that I find between London and this west country is a somewhat remarkable one. The Saxon Chronicle states that in the year 866 a great heathen army came to the land of the Angles, and in the following years, up to A.D. 896, roamed about this country and made excursions or raids into France. But in 896, being settled on the river Lea with their ships, King Alfred reconnoitred their positions, and noted how the river might be obstructed in such manner that they could not bring out their ships, and two works or forts were begun to effect this. When the Danes saw this, they abandoned their ships and went across England to the Severn, and the men of London brought away their ships to London, and the King pursued the enemy to Quatt, and in doing so the Danes and Alfred's troops must have crossed the north of our county. This was a very great defeat for the Danes, and in the following summer they seemed to have dispersed to the north and east, and "those that were moneyless got themselves ships and went south, going down the Severn and over sea to France." England was a sorry place to live in in those days.

Leaving this early, though most important, part of our country's annals, I will pass on to the Middle Ages, when our connection with London becomes more capable of illustration, both as regards persons and historical events.

William I. held his Parliament at Gloucester well nigh every Christmas, and here a Domesday survey was ordered in 1085.

Gloucester is closely connected with the sad end of Edward II., and ultimately derived immense wealth from the burial of the monarch in its Cathedral.

When Isabella, his Queen, who raised the rebellion against

him which led to his death, returned from France in 1326, accompanied by Mortimer, Lord of the Marches, she wrote to the city of London demanding assistance, and it came in very bloody fashion. The Queen had gone on to Gloucester, and the mob of the city rose, sacked the house of the Bishop of Exeter, who was Treasurer to the King, and who, as such, had been the instrument of the King in confiscating the Queen's property. The unfortunate Bishop was out from home, and was returning on horseback to his dinner, not aware that anything had gone wrong. On hearing of the riot he tried to take sanctuary at St. Paul's, but he was seized and killed with his two attendants, and his head was sent as a pleasing offering from the city of London to Queen Isabella at Gloucester. Mortimer is interesting to me as the then Lord of the Manor which I now possess, and I still receive a Quit Rent from a property under the name of Mortimer's Land. He also rebuilt my parish church of Bisley, and caused carved portraits of Edward II., of Isabella, of the Bishop of the Diocese, and of the parish priest to be handed down to us as corbels in the interior of the church, and they are still in good condition. On the 13th January, 1337, one week before the death of the King, Mortimer came to the Guildhall of London, and in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, made oath to maintain the cause of the Queen and of her son.

The riot just mentioned was a formidable instance of a London rising, of which we have not a few in history. We heard of one yesterday at St. Mary Undershaft. There is a remarkable example of another one in the reign of Henry VIII., got up in the futile but not unreasonable hope of maintaining some open country round London. It is thus described in the *Grafton Chronicle*, in the sixth year of Henry VIII., 1490[1]:—

"The tounes about London as Islington, Hoxton, Shoredych, and other had so enclosed the common fields with hedges and diches that neyther the young men of the Citie

[1] *Grafton Chronicle*, vol. ii., l. 280.

might shoote nor the auncient persons might walk for their pleasure in the fields, except either their bowes and arrowes were broken or taken away, or the honest and substantial persons arrested and indited. This sore grieved the Londoners, and suddenly a great number assembled and a Turner in a fool's coat came cryinge through the Citie 'shovels and spades,' and within a short space all the hedges were cast down and diches filled. The King's Council came to Grey Fryars to know the cause and sent for the Mayor and Council which declared to them ye noysaunce done to the citizens. And when the King's Council heard the answer they dissimulated and commanded that no other thing were attempted and to call home the citizens . . . and so after the fields were never hedged."

I think the word "dissimulated" is a delightful description of an intention to do nothing. I am afraid that "never" can hardly be considered a correct statement at the present time.

Perhaps the most remarkable historical event and the one having most result on the history of our country was the march of the Train Bands of the city of London to raise the siege of Gloucester in 1643. One cannot help, in reading of this, being struck with the capacity of the leading soldiers of that day in the handling of an army.

The London forces started from the Artillery Grounds, the present ones I believe, on a Wednesday, and stopped at Brentford a whole day, "when many citizens came and joined, but on fair excuses went home again; and some went home before they got to Brentford." They arrived at Prestbury, after a most roundabout journey of eleven stages, on Tuesday week following. The long *détour* was due to Prince Rupert being at Oxford, and the necessity of effecting a junction with Essex. When they reached our own county at Adlestrop and Oddington, the whole scene, as described, comes vividly before anyone who knows the country.

The Red Regiment stood on their guard all Sunday night in front of Oddington, having no food, neither durst they

kindle any fire, though it was a very cold night. In the morning they saw Prince Rupert with his 4000 horse crowning Mangesbury Hill, and away to the right on Broadwell Hill, and pushing cavalry round to his right to attempt to surround the leading regiment. They sent a galloper back to Chipping Norton to tell the general; the Train Bands remained on their guard, waiting for the advance of the rest of the army coming from Chipping Norton over Adlestrop Hill, and firing occasionally their so-called big guns. The advance parties engage, but Rupert, having no intention of attacking formed infantry, gradually draws off to the south. The writer says, "I hope the mercie of that day will not bee forgotten." The army then marches on through Slaughter and Swell to Naunton, and thence on the next day to Prestbury. Our best narrative comes from a man in the Red Regiment, which was pushed forward to crown Prestbury Hill overlooking the vale, in order probably to secure the main body, desirous of entering the vale by the easy descent from Andoversford, from being attacked on the flank from the hills which overhang the descent. Doubtless, if we could get the whole description we should find that Dowdeswell was similarly occupied; and we know that Essex, passing down the defile, had to fight for his quarter at Cheltenham and "got it pretty easily."

The stages of the journey were Brentford, Chalfont, Chesham, Aston-Clinton, Claydon, Stretton Ardley, Bayard's Green, Souldern, Hook Norton, Stow, Prestbury, fourteen days. Oxford had to be avoided as being in the possession of the Royalists, and the march was constantly threatened by the Royal forces.

I have come across a curious complaint of the citizens of London against the citizens of Bristol.[1] It is a Petition of the wholesale tradesmen of London frequenting the annual fairs at Bristol to the Lords of Council (1625) stating that owing to plague which had caused cessation of trade for six months, they could not meet their Debtors who they always

[1] *Remembrances, City of London*, 1579–1664.

met at Bristol. They prayed that those who could bring certificates that neither they or their families had been afflicted might go to Bristol with their servants without restraint from officers of Bristol who had apparently established a close quarantine.

Have we any men drawn from Gloucestershire who have made their mark in London? In 1295, reign of Edward I., I find Richard of Gloucester was Sheriff.

In 1303 John of Burford, Sheriff.

1346 John of Gloucester (Edward III.), Sheriff.

1347 William Clopton, Sheriff.

1384 Symon of Winchcombe (Richard II.), Sheriff.

1472 Sir William Hampton, from Minchinhampton, was Mayor. He was knighted on the battlefield of Barnet, when Warwick was slain and Edward IV. established his position, and the knight he thus made became Lord Mayor of the City of London in the following year. He lived opposite to the Stocks Market, a position now occupied by the Bank of England, the Stocks Market itself being about where the Mansion House is.

1520 John Brug or Bridges, of Dymock, Mayor, Ancestor of Dukes of Buckingham.

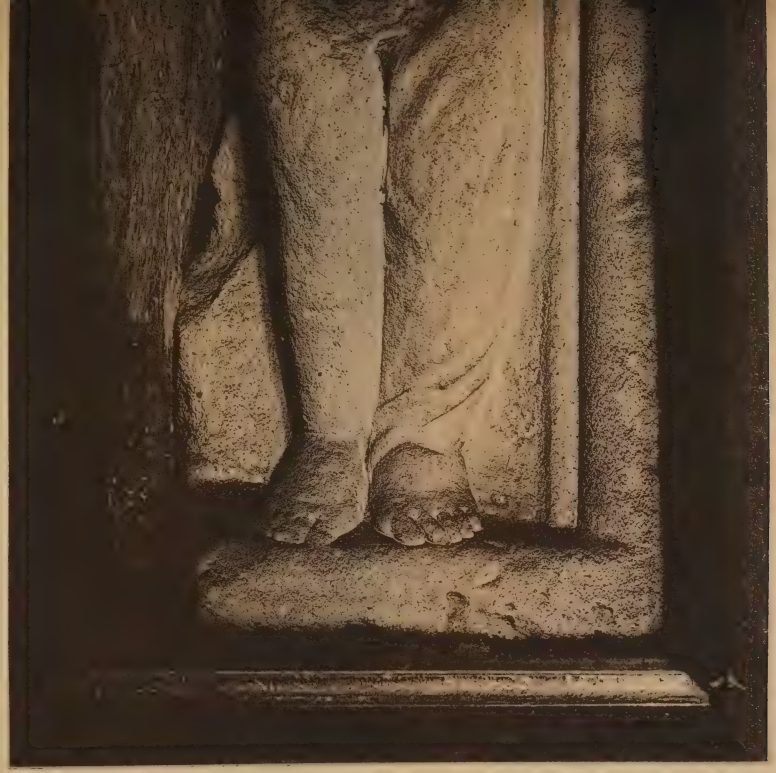
1604–5 Leon Halliday, of Rodborough, of the Merchant Taylors' Company, Lord Mayor. His widow married Montague Earl of Manchester, and the Gunpowder Plot was in his period of office.

1653 Sir Thomas Viner, Mayor, a Goldsmith.

1666 Sir Robert Viner, Goldsmith, both of them from our Gloucestershire family, and the first knighted by Cromwell, and the second by Charles II., for whose coronation he provided the regalia, and oddly enough he borrowed and lent the

Corporation plate for use at the coronation of James II. In the course of his travels, I believe in Spain, he purchased a statue of John Sobieski, King of Poland trampling on a Turk, which he brought to London and had erected in the Stocks Market already referred to, re-christening it as a statue of Charles II. trampling on Oliver Cromwell. There it remained until 1753, when, on the abolition of this market, it was taken down and given back to the Viner family, and it now stands in Goatby Park, Lincolnshire. His loyalty was rather to the dynasty in power, for he had attended the installation of Cromwell as Lord Protector.

There is a curious story told of him, which, if not altogether to the credit of his manners, is illustrative of the manners of the time. King Charles II. was somewhat intimate with Viner, and "he more than once dined with his good citizens of London on their Lord Mayor's day, and did so the year that Sir Robert Viner was Mayor. Sir Robert was a very loyal man, and, if you will allow the expression, very fond of his sovereign; but what with the joy he felt at heart for the honour done him by his Prince, and through the warmth he was in with continual toasting healths to the Royal Family, his lordship grew a little fond of his Majesty, and entered into a familiarity not altogether so graceful in so public a place. The King understood very well how to extricate himself in all kinds of difficulties, and, with a hint to the company to avoid ceremony, stole off and made towards his coach, which was ready for him in the Guildhall yard. But the Mayor liked his company so well, and was grown so intimate, that he pursued him hastily, and, catching him fast by the hand, cried out with a vehement oath and accent, 'Sir, you shall stay and take t'other bottle.' The airy Monarch looked kindly at him over his shoulder, and, with a smile and graceful air (for I



CARVED STONE APPARENTLY JAMB OF FIREPLACE FOUND IN 1862 ON THE SITE OF THE HOUSE STATED IN THE STREET ROLL OF GLOUCESTER TO HAVE BEEN OCCUPIED BY RICHARD THE NEPHEW OF DICK WHITTINGTON.

saw him at the time, and do now), repeated this line of the old song:

'He that's drunk is as great as a king,'

and immediately returned back and complied with his landlord."

The writer says: "I give you this story, *Mr. Spectator*, because, as I said, I saw the passage [occurrence], and it is very true."—From the *Spectator*, No. 462 (Steele).

I have purposely left the most remarkable personal connection between Gloucester and London to the last. I refer to that wonderful story, the history of Dick Whittington, which, if it were not true, might be represented as a myth; which has so seized upon the minds of children as a delightful story, that it has formed the basis of countless pantomimes, has been told over and over again in story-books, and is, I think, commonly supposed to be a romance, and yet it forms a part of the serious history of the City of London, and a subject of such just pride, even in those distant days, to the City of Gloucester, that an elaborate and perhaps coeval piece of sculpture, still in existence, was wrought in Gloucester in honour of the hero. It may not be unfitting that the story should be shortly re-told here, and I hope that a print of the Gloucester Whittington Stone will appear in our *Transactions*.

Canon Lysons, in his interesting book, *The Model Merchant of the Middle Ages*, dedicated to the youth of Gloucestershire, says:—"I place him before you as a man of yourselves, of your own county, a man who from small resources raised himself to affluence by means of trade, and who when God had blessed his efforts knew what return was due to the God who had prospered him." He was born in the reign of Edward I., about 1360, at Pauntly, and died 1428. His family furnished many Sheriffs to the County of Gloucester, and his brother Robert was Sheriff 1402 and 1407; one of those years coincides with one of the years of his brother's mayoralty. His mother had become a widow about the time of Whittington's birth, and had married

again, a Berkeley of Coberley, and it is conjectured that Whittington having no inheritance and in his stepfather's house, sought his future in London on his own account. Sick of his first start he turned home again, and thus we have the story of the Bow Bells. The cat by which he made his fortune, and the existence of which is vouched for by the carving to which I have already alluded and the picture in Mercers' Hall, is the difficulty of the story. That it was a name for a sort of ship in which he traded must, I think, be dismissed, and there seems to be plenty of authority for believing that cats at certain times and places have had great value. In an early manuscript the value of a cat is said to be that of a milch sheep with its wool and its lamb. In another, that it is worth the property necessary to constitute a hamlet. A Spanish writer says 800 gold pieces were given for the first cat landed in Chili by Almagro the companion of Pizarro. John Barbot, in his description of Guinea, A.D. 1680, says that the country was infested with rats and mice, and consequently cats were of great value.

It is, therefore, not unreasonable to believe that, as the story goes, by some fortunate accident Whittington did market a cat to advantage, and thus become possessed of the capital which led up to his great fortune.

He gained his fortune early, for in 1386, when only about thirty-six years old, we find that Richard Whittington, citizen and mercer of London, lent £500 (say at present value £3,000) to Philip Mansel, and took the Manor of Lypiatt in mortgage for it. The arms of Whittington are still in the house. Mansel was his maternal uncle.

He subsequently lent money on a colossal scale to the Kings of England, and after the conquest of France by Henry V. entertained the monarch in the Guildhall, and burnt before his face in a fire of precious woods the bonds for his loan to the King of £60,000. Rather a sensational act. "The King said, 'Never had Prince such a subject,' to which Whittington replied, 'Never had subject such a Prince.'"

He was Sheriff of London 1393–4, when he was thirty-three years of age, and Lord Mayor the latter part of the year 1396–7, the mayor of that year having died, and again in 1397–8, 1406–7, and 1419–20, in the reigns of Richard II., Henry IV. and V.

Besides being courtier and chief citizen, he was a leading tradesman, and supplied ten cloths of gold for the wedding of Blanche, daughter of Henry IV., and pearls and gold for the wedding dress of Princess Philippa on her marriage with the King of Denmark, for which he received £463 10s. 10d.

There is an account also at Longleat stating that amongst the "Providenza," which I interpret gifts, made on the marriage of Johanna Stafford there was purchased of Richard Whittington, mercer, the 22nd January, two clothes of gold price the piece VI.=£12. And of the same Richard a gold ring with a sapphire price as agreed £3, and sundry other entries.

He made his mark in his generation as a governing man. He is said to have set up the first drinking fountain. He was the terror of brewers and butchers who sold bad goods. He found that the prison of Newgate was shockingly bad; a contemporary description says "yat hit was feble, over litel and so contagious of eyre yat hit caused the deth of many men." So he caused it to be rebuilt. He established the first public library in the city of London at Greyfriars in 1421, 129 feet long, with "twenty-eight waintscoat desks and eight double settees," and £556 worth of books. Finally, he was charged by the King, Henry V., with the rebuilding of the nave of Westminster Abbey after the fire, and orders were given that no improvement should be made in the City without consulting Richard Whittington, and his fame seems now to be likely to last as long as the History of England.

The stone I have mentioned recording the cat was found on the site of the house formerly occupied by Richard Whittington, his nephew, and which is thus mentioned in the *Rental of Gloucester* already referred to:—

"WESTGATE STREET, RATOUNREWE.

"Prior Lanthonia tenet omnia illa domos et œdificia cum suis pertinentiis a dicta venella (lane) de Abbeylone usque ad viam communem et processionalem ibidem juxta cancellum Ecclesiae Sancti Nicholai et tenementa Ricardi Whitynton domini de Staunton, quæ vocantur Raton rewe et Asschewellys-place, et quæ in vetere longabulo (landgavel) per nomen octo seldarum (booths) et terrae W. Banbury designantur, ubi diversi tenantes manent."—Extract *Gloucester Rental*, 1455, "Westgate Street."

One other most distinguished man I must mention, whose reputation is of a totally different kind. I refer to the astronomer Bradley, born at Sherborne, 1692, and died at Chalford, 1762, educated at Northleach Grammar School, Astronomer Royal at Greenwich, and the discoverer of the theory of the aberration of light. He is buried in Minchinhampton churchyard.

With this I must end my list of Gloucestershire worthies who have contributed to the distinction of London.

I hope I have not wearied you overmuch with this somewhat varied address. I will only now conclude with a quotation from a sermon preached in 1685 at the church of St. Mary-le-Bow by the Rev. E. Fowler, at the Gloucestershire Feast, a sort of club meeting of Gloucester men resident in London. The stewards were John Haynes, A. Partridge, W. Hill, and E. Sandys, all names still known in Gloucestershire:

"I take a proverb: 'As sure as God is in Gloucestershire.' Our county so abounding heretofore with religious houses has been thought by Fuller to be the occasion of the proverb. But though these houses have long been gone, which we have no cause to be sorry for (except their religion was better than it was), I could be content we might never lose our proverb, on condition it never be profanely used, and that this may be the ground of it: That Gloucestershire abounds above all other counties with love and friendship."

And I think we may now add that in this present day the citizens of London have not been behind the then reputation of the County of Gloucester in the welcome they have given to us, and the kindness they have shown to our Society.

When the President had finished his address,

Mr. McCRORY, Q.C., welcomed the Society to the Temple, and moved a vote of thanks to Sir John Dorington for his address.

As this was the last formal gathering in connection with the London meeting, votes of thanks were accorded those who had helped in the arrangements for this meeting. The resolution, which was moved by Sir JOHN DORINGTON, was as follows:—

"That the thanks of the Society be given to the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress of London, to the Master and Wardens of the Drapers' Company, and to Mr. G. H. Birch for their generous hospitality to the Society at the Mansion House, Drapers' Hall, and Soane Museum respectively.

"To the Master, Wardens and Clerk of the Brewers' Company, and to the Treasurer and Masters of the Bench of the Middle Temple, for the use of their halls for the meetings of this Society.

"To the Dean of Winchester and to the Incumbents of the Churches of St. Bartholomew the Great; St. John, Clerkenwell; St. Olave, Hart Street; St. Saviour, Southwark; St. Helen the Great, Bishopsgate; St. Katherine Cree; St. Andrew Undershaft; St. Mary Abchurch; St. Stephen, Walbrook; St. Margaret, Lothbury; and to the Master of the Temple, for their permission to visit these interesting edifices.

"To the Masters and Wardens of the Worshipful Companies of the Brewers, Mercers, Armourers and Braziers, Drapers, and Barbers, for their permission to visit and inspect their halls and the treasures of art they contain.

"To the Chairmen of the Library and Lands Committee of the Corporation of London, for permission to visit the Great Hall.

"To the Archbishop of Canterbury, for permission to visit Lambeth Palace.

"To the following gentlemen who have read papers or explained the objects of interest visited:—Mr. Edward H. Martineau (Brewers' Hall). Mr. G. H. Birch (Wren Churches; St. John's Church, Clerkenwell; St. Saviour's, Southwark, and St. John's Chapel in the Tower of London; St. Helen's, Bishopsgate; Crosby Hall, St. Andrew Undershaft, St. Katherine Cree, and the Soane Museum). Mr. C. Welch (the Library of the Guildhall and the City Guilds). Mr. Cooper (Chairman of the Library Committee of the Guildhall). Mr. J. J. Baddeley (the Guildhall,

etc.). Mr. Aston Webb (St. Bartholomew's the Great). The Rev. H. V. Le Bas (Charterhouse). Col. Sir H. C. Perrott (St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell). Mr. Ernest Law (Hampton Court Palace). Mr. John Watney (The Mercers' Hall). Mr. H. S. Kennedy-Skipton, ('The Life of Sir Richard Whittington'). The Rev. A. Povah, D.D. (St. Olave's, Hart Street). The Rev. W. Thompson, D.D. (St. Saviour's, Southwark). Viscount Dillon (The Armoury of the Tower of London). Mr. S. Wayland Kershaw (Lambeth Palace). The Rev. J. W. L. Airey (St. Helen's). Mr. E. Guy Dauber, (St. Mary Abchurch and St. Stephen Walbrook). The Master of the Armourers and Braziers. The Master of the Drapers, and Mr. Young (the Halls of these Companies). Sir John Dorington and Mr. Milman, Clerk of the House of Commons (Westminster Hall). Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite (Westminster Abbey). The Master of the Temple, the Rev. Canon Ainger (The Temple Church). Mr. C. H. Hopgood (The Temple), and Messrs. W. St. John Hope and G. E. Fox (Silchester.)

"To the Local Committee, and especially the Secretary of that Committee, Mr. W. H. Seth-Smith, for his untiring efforts on behalf of the Society, for the use of his offices and the services of his staff of clerks.

"To Mr. E. M. Currie, Local Secretary for Gloucestershire, for his correspondence with the members, and his painstaking distribution of tickets, etc.

"To Mr. G. H. Birch, for his invaluable advice and the kind use of his beautiful residence for the meetings of the Committee; and to Mr. R. A. S. Macalister, for his notes in the programme on the Churches of St. Helen, St. Andrew Undershaft, and for his invaluable assistance in arranging and carrying out the details of the meeting.

"To the Stewards: Mr. C. Bathurst, the Rev. W. J. E. Robbins, Mr. R. A. S. Macalister, and Mr. Christopher Turner, and to those who represented Mr. Turner in his absence—Mr. E. Guy Dauber and Mr. A. Head—for their guidance and protection of the party through the difficult and dangerous thoroughfares of the city.

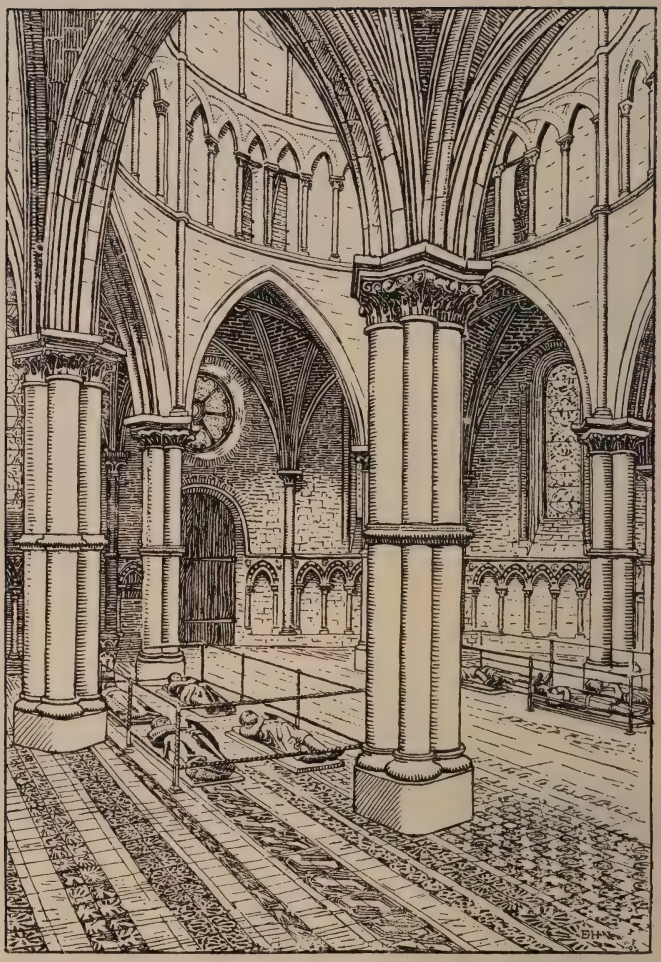
"To Mr. C. Bathurst, to Mr. E. Guy Dauber, and to Mr. Kennedy-Skipton for their notices, in the programme, of the Temple, St. Mary Abchurch, St. Stephen Walbrook and Silchester respectively.

"To the Editors and Publishers who have kindly lent blocks or gave the Secretary permission to reproduce illustrations for the programme.

"To the Proprietor, Editor and Reporter of the *Western Daily Press* for the accurate account of the meeting given in that important journal.

"To Mr. C. Bathurst, for the gift of the die from which the badges of the Society were struck.

"To the Presidents for 1897 and 1898, Mr. G. B. Witts and Sir John Dorington, for their able leadership of the Society during the present meeting, and to Sir John Dorington for his Presidential address.



289 INTERIOR OF TEMPLE CHURCH.

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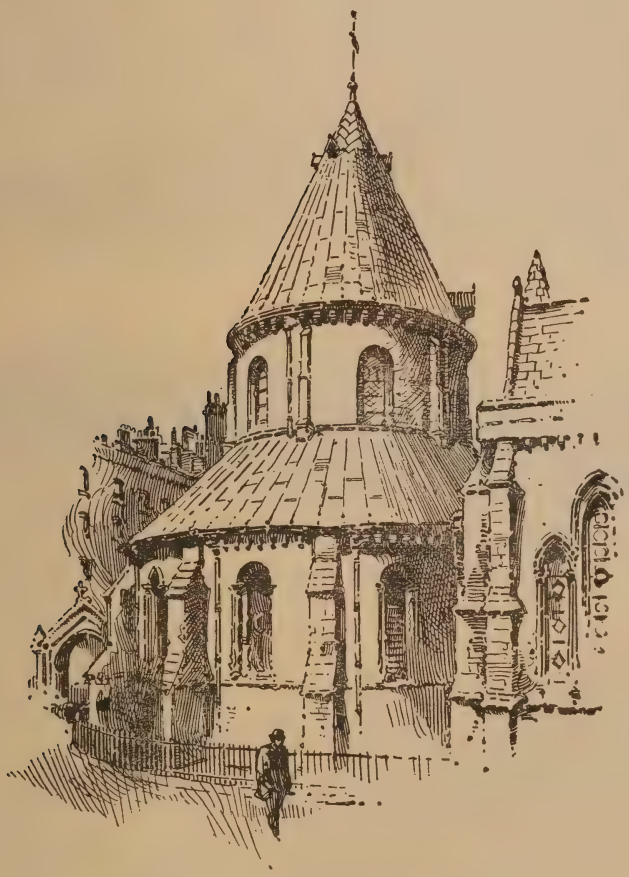
"To the Rev. W. Bazeley, Hon. General Secretary, for the general organisation of this meeting."

The different resolutions were heartily received, and none more so than that in which the services of the Rev. W. Bazeley were recognised.

Canon AINGER then delivered an interesting address on "The History of the Temple and its Church." With the natural reluctance of an amateur archæologist, when addressing a body of experts, to enter into the



EXTERIOR OF THE TEMPLE CHURCH.

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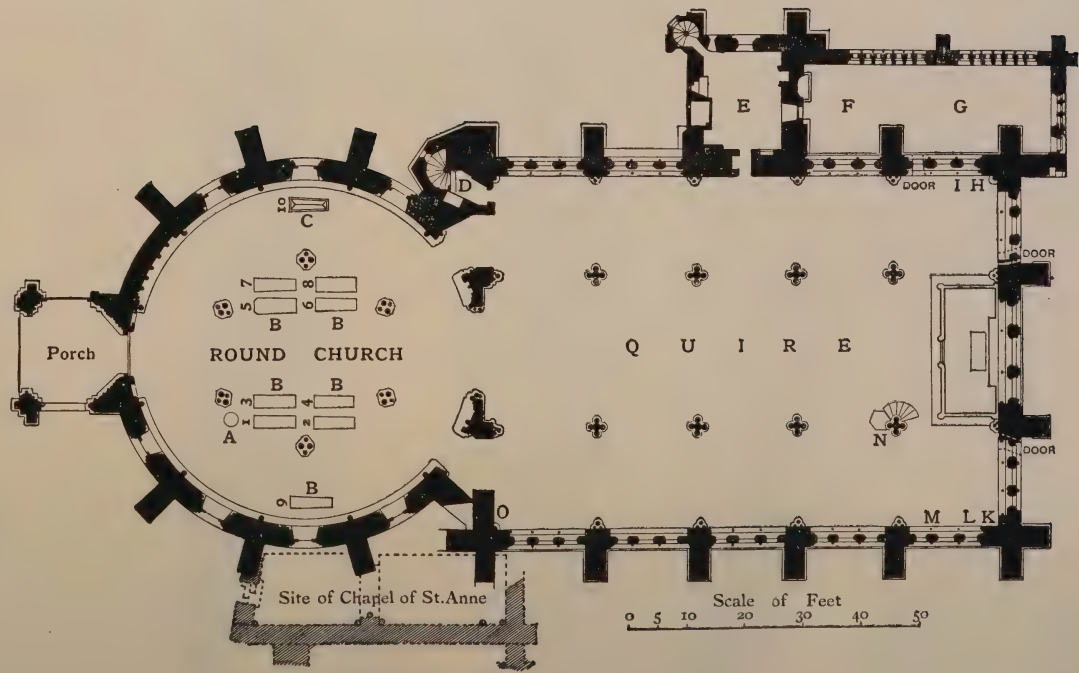
technicalities of their art, he explained how the history of the Temple was wrapped up in Temple Church—its earliest building—and in a rapid sketch

told how it was that a society of lawyers developed out of a society of military monks. The Knights Templars existed for about two hundred years, from 1118–1312, and their first settlement in London was near Southampton Buildings, which debouch into Holborn. In 1180 they came south to the meadows by the river within the city boundary, and began erecting this church and the buildings in its neighbourhood. The church was consecrated five years later by Heraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, who was in England on a mission to the King for a new crusade. The original church consisted of a round nave in imitation of the circular church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and buildings of similar design were seen at Cambridge, Northampton, Little Maplestead, and within Ludlow Castle. The choir was added sixty years later, in 1240. Canon Ainger referred to the celebration within the last few years of the seven hundredth anniversary of the church's consecration, and traced the downfall of the Templars through the enormous wealth they had obtained and through the public jealousy excited by the prerogatives and immunities they enjoyed. They had outlived their useful purpose, and Spenser spoke of them as having "decayed through pride." Demoralisation had crept in, and in this substratum charges of immorality and atheism were readily believed, and confession to that effect was racked out of the Templars. Their presentation fell into the hands of the Crown, and in a few years a fresh grant was made to a new religious body of the Order of Knights of St. John, who had possession of the Temple at the reign of Henry VIII. During their tenure of the property the lawyers came for the first time on the scene, when the knights let part of their property to a colony of law students. At the Reformation the Temple became the property of the Crown, and in the Stuart period was handed over to the lawyers as a free gift. Towards the close of his address Canon Ainger had an interesting and almost personal explanation to make, when he stated that the title he held of "Master of the Temple" was not to be confused as lineally descended from the Master of the Knights Templars. No connection whatever existed between the two. "Master" was simply the English for the Latin "custos," which the priest of the Temple was always called. More interesting still was his reference to the opening of the hall by Queen Elizabeth, in 1576, and to the magnificent oak screen, which was of very little later date than the hall itself. He added that the hall of Trinity College, Cambridge, was an exact replica of the Middle Temple Hall, and was built on its lines, as it was admitted to be the most beautiful hall in England. The literary consecration of Middle Temple Hall was of great notoriety, for a barrister had recorded the acting on February 2nd, 1602, of a play named "Twelfth Night," showing that beyond all question the play was Shakespeare's, and was presumably the only play acted by Shakespeare's company; and, as Shakespeare was a member of that company, it might be



A. Font.
B. Sepulchral Effigies.
C. Stone Coffin Lid.
D. Staircase to Triforium.
E. Organ.
F and G. Vestry.
H. Selden's Tablet.
I and K. Aumbries.
L. Piscina.
M. Bishop's Effigy.
N. Pulpit.
O. Hooker's Bust.

PLAN OF TEMPLE CHURCH.

Reproduced from "The Temple Church" by kind permission of Messrs. George Philip and Son.

said that Shakespeare had acted within those walls in one of his early plays.

After listening with much interest to Canon Ainger's address a short organ recital was given, and the details of the church were inspected. These were described by Mr. C. BATHURST, as follows:—

The Temple Church consists of a porch, a round nave, and a choir, with vestry and organ chamber. The west doorway, which has a semi-circular headed arch, with recessed shafts and foliated capitals, is Transitional Norman. The round nave, with its tower and stunted spire, is peculiar to the Templars; the only other examples we have in England being at Northampton and Cambridge, unless we also include the chapel in Ludlow Castle and Little Maplestead. There were other round churches of the Templars in England, but they have disappeared. Their first church in London stood on the site of Southampton Buildings, Holborn The piers of the nave consist of banded Purbeck marble columns with capitals, carved in the Early English manner with conventional foliage. These support pointed arches, over which and continued round in front of the triforium is an arcade of intersecting semi-circular arches. The clerestory windows above are round-headed. We have here a building, finished in 1185, which furnishes us with an excellent example of the transition which was taking place at that time in England from the 12th to the 13th century style. The effigies have been removed from other parts of the church to the centre of the dome. None of them have been identified with any certainty, but they are supposed to be as follows (*see* ground plan): 1 or 2, William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke; 3 and 4, the sons of the great earl, William Mareschal the younger, and Gilbert; 5, Geoffrey de Manderville, Earl of Essex and Constable of the Tower (an appointment that probably cost the Empress Matilda her crown); 9, Lord de Ros, one of the barons who signed Magna Charta; 10, the coffin lid of the fifth son of Henry III. In the staircase leading to the triforium is a penitential cell for refractory knights. In the triforium are monuments to Plowden and other distinguished lawyers. The choir, which was consecrated in 1240, is a noble example of Early English architecture when it had come to maturity. The roofs of the central gangway and of the aisles are supported by Purbeck marble clustered columns, with richly-moulded capitals, from which spring the ribs of the groining. The church being the common property of the Middle and Inner Temple, their badges, the agnus dei and pegasus, appear on alternate bosses. Hooker, the author of *Ecclesiastical Polity*, and Gauden, Bishop of Exeter, and author of *Eikon Basilike*, were amongst the many distinguished Masters of the Temple, and the former was buried here.

In 1118 the band of Crusaders founded by Hugh de Payens (de Paganis) and Godfrey de St. Omer assumed the name of Knights of the

Temple, or Templars, when King Baldwin gave them a house close to the traditional site of the Temple in Jerusalem (then, as now, covered by a circular building known as "the Mosque of Omar"). About the same time the Order obtained a settlement in what is now called High Holborn. Fleet Street and the Strand were not then in existence. It was in 1190, when Ludgate ("the Postern") had been opened, and the tidal waters of "the Fleet" bridged across, and a roadway between the City of London and the Abbey of Westminster constructed, that the Templars, wanting more room (owing to houses springing up round them in what are now Fetter, Shoe, and Chancery Lanes), shifted their settlement to the fine river meadows south of the new street and just inside the City boundary.

In the "Inner Temple" stood their domestic buildings, abutting on the precincts of the Carmelites, who settled on the land to the east of the Templars in 1241.

The Templars' buildings ended on the west with the church; they probably had gardens and orchards beyond on the site of what is now the "Middle Temple." The City boundary ran outside these gardens, cutting off a field possessed by the Templars, the site of which is called in consequence the "Outer Temple." (The "Outer Temple" was never one of the Inns of Court or occupied by the lawyers.)

The treasury of the Order was one of the great features of the house, and was used by John and Henry III. as a place of deposit for the regalia on several occasions.

In 1185 the first church on the present site—*i.e.* the round nave—was completed, and dedicated to St. Mary by Heraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, who was at that time on a mission to England from Pope Lucius III. to Henry II., to induce him to ascend the throne of Jerusalem. The Consecration is supposed to have taken place in the presence of Henry II. and his magnates.

In 1240 the oblong chancel was added. In 1840–2 the building was entirely restored at a very considerable cost.

In 1312 the decree of the Council of Vienne (convoked by Clement V.) gave all the possessions of the Templars to their rivals, the Knights of St. John (or Knights Hospitallers), who continued to hold them (including the Inner and Middle Temples) until the Dissolution of the Monasteries by Henry VIII.

The site with its buildings was after the expulsion of the Templars occupied by Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, and subsequently by Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, who was put to death at Pontefract in 1322. In 1324 the decree of Clement was enforced and the House became absolutely the property of the Hospitallers.

About 1350 they leased it at ten pounds a year to a certain society of students of the law. (The exact date is unknown, for in the rebellion of

From an etching by Mr. G. H. Birch.

THE TEMPLE.

1381 the records of the Hospitallers were destroyed, including the deed of lease).

The students of the law held the House as tenants of the Hospitallers until the Dissolution, when it passed into possession of the King, and the two societies of the Inner and Middle Temple became tenants of the Crown.

In 1609 the freehold was confirmed to the two societies by letters patent of James I. "for the hospitation and education of the Professors and Students of the laws of the realm," subject to a rent-charge of £10, payable by each society.

In 1673 these rents were extinguished by purchase by the two societies.

Mr. R. A. S. MACALISTER contributed the following account of the organ :—

The organ in Temple Church was originally erected by Bernhard Schmidt ("Father Smith") in 1682-4, under the following circumstances. The Treasurer of the Hon. Societies of the Inner and Middle Temple approached Smith on the subject of the construction of an organ for their church; but the almost equally celebrated builder, Renatus Harris, who was living close by, brought influence to bear, and secured the opportunity of competing with Smith. It was arranged that each of the builders should set up an organ, and that the societies should retain that which possessed the greatest number of excellencies. The two organs stood together till 1688, when after numerous trials Smith's was selected. Smith's organ was erected in the west-end gallery, Harris's on the south side of the Communion Table.

Smith's organ possessed the following peculiarities: it was the first organ erected in England with three complete manuals or keyboards, distributed thus:—Great Organ, 10 stops; Choir Organ, 6 stops; Echo, 7 stops. Its compass downward was a note farther than was usual at the time, though, on the other hand, it was a note shorter at the upper end of the keyboard. The chief peculiarity, however, was the provision of quarter-notes in each octave above the lowest, by which separate notes were provided for G sharp and A flat, and for D sharp and E flat, "which raritiyes," says a book in the library of the Inner Temple, "no other organ in England hath: and can play any tune, as for instance ye tune of ye 119th Psalm, and severall other services set by excellent musicians: which no other organ will do!"

SATURDAY, JULY 16TH.

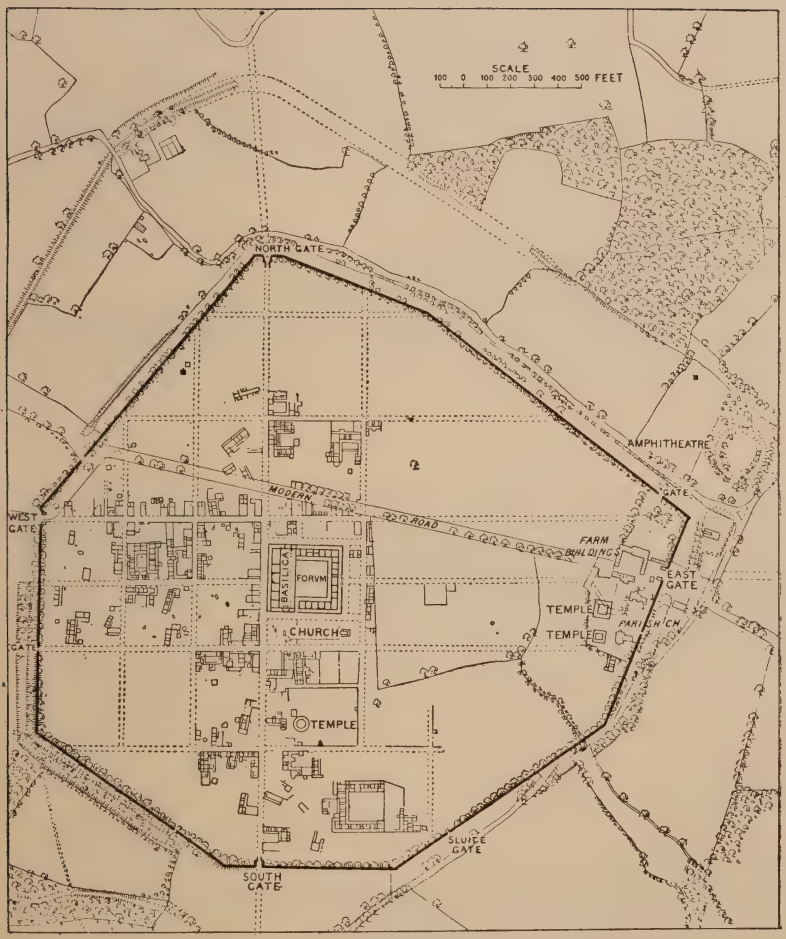
The Last Day of the Meeting was spent in paying a visit to the Romano-British city of

SILCHESTER,

the *Calleva Atrebatium* of the Romans. The party, numbering about eighty, left Paddington at 9.45 a.m., and on arriving at Reading proceeded at once to the Museum in order to inspect the collection of Romano-British antiquities which have been deposited there by the Society of Antiquaries during the systematic excavations which they have carried out during the past few years. Some irregular researches took place in 1833; but apart from this it may be said that the city was excavated, first in 1851 by Mr. Maclaughlan; secondly by the Rev. J. G. Joyce, at the expense of the second Duke of Wellington, from 1865 to 1873; thirdly by Mr. Hylton Price, from Mr. Joyce's death up to 1884; and lastly by Mr. G. E. Fox and Mr. St. John Hope, who have conducted for the Society of Antiquaries the excavations which were commenced in 1890 and are still in progress.

On arriving at the Museum, Mr. ST. JOHN HOPE gave a most interesting address on the work which has been so successfully accomplished, and illustrated his remarks by references to a large scale plan of the city which was hung on the wall.

The plan of Silchester, as Mr. St. John Hope explained it, is that of a camp or entrenched place surrounded with a wall. It had expanded in the course of the Roman occupation, and was almost unique in that it offered greater facility for exploration from its position on arable land, and so afforded greater possibility of information than other towns of Roman occupation, like Gloucester, Cirencester, and Colchester, where systematic search was impossible owing to the presence of modern houses. The site of Silchester was free from all such incumbrances, and the work of exploration had been able to progress without hindrance. It had an additional advantage in not having been occupied since the extinction of the town in early Saxon times. The town of Silchester occupied about a hundred acres, and the fact that the generality of Roman camps did not exceed eighty acres pointed to Silchester as a Roman town of a civil population, with purely civil institutions. Silchester had never been concerned with military occupation, and was compared by the lecturer to a Roman town of the second class, not equalling Bath in importance, but a town possessed of large houses and manufactories, and so on. Silchester was enclosed by a wall nearly two miles in circumference, with five gates —four main entrances placed north, south, east, and west, with the fifth leading to the amphitheatre, the seats of which might still be traced. The Romans had laid out the town by roads intersecting and forming the usual squares, or *insulæ*, the outer sides of which were faced by houses



SILCHESTER.

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and villas. Eighteen of these *insulæ* had been excavated, and two more were under progress of examination, so that at the end of the year twenty would have been inspected. Reference had been made to the town by Leland, in the reign of Henry VIII., as having its wall covered by strong oaks, which stand to-day; while the country people had noticed that corn would not grow in certain places, the shortness of the stem and the difference in the colour of the crops plainly indicating the lines of the streets. The hardness of the Roman road close to the surface withheld proper fertility, and made the crops wither up.

Dealing with the actual discoveries made, Mr. St, John Hope referred to the gates as of two kinds, having single and double arches. The single-arched gates, placed on the north and south, at the extreme ends of the main thoroughfare of the town, stood back about twenty feet from the wall, and by forming a *cul-de-sac* gave greater opportunity for defensive purposes.

The public buildings discovered consisted of the forum, situated almost in the centre of the town, with its great townhall or basilica and grouping of shops. Discovered originally by the Rev. J. G. Joyce during a period of excavation started in 1864 and continued for over twenty years, these had been re-examined by the Society, and systematically dealt with on the principle of the excavation of the *insulæ*. The great court of justice had been left uncovered for thirty years, and exposure to the air for all that time had left it a sorry wreck, very much overgrown with weeds and flowers, and difficult to realise in the plan that had been made from it. The traces of two temples standing near the twelfth century church of Silchester had been unearthed, and, most interesting of all, the foundations of a small church, the oldest Christian church in Europe of which traces still remained. The church consisted of a nave, apse, transept, and narthex, and stood close to the Basilica and forum, and was probably built in the fourth century, when Christianity was first tolerated in England. Nearer the south gate were found the foundations of a hospitium, with baths attached, and it was suggested that these were public baths, since no others were found elsewhere in the town. The houses which formed the great bulk of the discoveries were interesting in themselves, since they differed from other Roman houses—for instance, those at Pompeii—owing to the difference in climatic conditions. In sunny Italy, the courtyard, which kept out the glare of light, was exposed as much as possible, to give a free current of air into the house, which would not suit the variable climate of England, so that, beyond the building of the peristyle, the resemblance of the houses of the two countries ceased. One great house had been found with a large outer cloister running round it, while the second class houses, having the same range of chambers, had no courtyard, and had their cloister restricted to part of the building.

Proceeding to give a description of the discoveries deposited in the

museum, Mr. St. John Hope explained that the collection of the Silchester discoveries was wholly unmixed with other remains, and that the collection of relics stored in the museum was quite unique, since the excavation of Silchester was the only example of the complete exploration of a Romano-British town in England. Eevrything found was taken to London and inspected, and then sent to the museum to be incorporated in the great Silchester collection, and what they saw in the room represented all that had been found in the last eight years, including a number of articles found by Mr. Joyce. Together a very excellent collection was formed, and well arranged by Dr. Stevens. In point of fact the museum authorities had given them another room, where the architectural features would be arranged, and that collection had not its equal in any museum of the country. Antiquaries had too much neglected the architectural side of the Roman remains in Britain. They would see a number of curious objects in the cases, but they were just what they would find in Gloucester or York or any other place; but when they came to the architectural remains they would find what did not exist elsewhere. On every interesting object was a restored piece of mural painting, which showed what could be done by careful arrangement. The drawing consisted of two similar designs of painted leaves and flowers. Several fragments of marble were shown, some of foreign importation, but for the most part of Purbeck marble, indicating how the Romans had anticipated the use of that marble which was so much utilised in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

As to the pavements, they had found in every case where the materials were examined local materials had been used. There seemed to be an idea that the Romans brought their materials from abroad, but the researches made did not bear out this statement. Three different specimens of mosaic pavements were, on examination, proved to be made of British materials—of limestone, Purbeck marble, yellow sandstone and red brick, and occasionally of glass. The varying types of the examples shown, while not equalling in beauty those discovered at Tockington, near Almondsbury, or at Woodchester, were clearly defined by the different use of colour and design. One type consisted of nicely drawn patterns in black and white, with the strip showing where the door-mat was placed; a second type was slightly coloured with dividing black lines, and the third was more ornate in colouring and design, and divided with bands of braiding.

Some perfect specimens of Roman wooden barrels were pointed out as the oldest tubs in the world, and were used as vats for the storing of oil and dye, which the lecturer subsequently explained was the staple industry of the town, judging from the frequent discovery of furnaces and tanks. These tubs were also used for sinking down to the bottom of wells, and had been discovered *in situ*.

The wells at Silchester were sunk to a low stratum of gravel and then they got to a sand bed which rested on a bed of clay. The gravel stood by itself without collapsing, but if the sand was not held up in some way it became more or less fluid. The Romans were aware of this, and they lined the sandy part with wood, and sometimes they built a square wooden frame. Occasionally the layer was too thick for one tub, and then two were sunk. The wood was only ordinary fir, and the barrels were hooped at intervals of eight or nine inches by bands of hazel, and that was why they could not preserve it; but they let them dry with iron bands to keep them in the position they saw them now. Sometimes, owing to the well being in a dryer part of the site, the barrel was exposed to the air, and it decayed away as they saw. The most perfectly preserved were those that had remained covered with water since the Roman occupation. The tubs stood about seven feet high, each stave being perfectly incised with a Roman letter of the alphabet by the hooper—the letters running from A to M or R, and not necessarily in alphabetical order.

In reply to various questious that were put to him, Mr. Hope explained that the streets were not paved, but were covered with a thick layer of gravel, which in course of time became hard, but no wheel-marks or ruts had been found.

The different cases in the Museum were devoted to the display of bronze ornaments, iron implements, pottery, and coins; and one case was especially noteworthy, since it contained an example of a Roman plane—one of six known discoveries. It might reasonably be said that there was nothing new under the sun, as this iron plane, with its steel knife set in the box, was almost identical in formation and idea with a plane patented by an American a few years ago which was familiar to all carpenters. From this it appeared that a patent had been granted for an original form of tool which was in use in England seventeen centuries ago. A gridiron and blacksmith's and shoemaker's anvils were shown, the latter of the same pattern in use to-day. The thanks posterity owes to the inventive genius of the Romans was never more exemplified than in a comparison of three makes of portable anvils, or iron stakes with a crossbar, which gives them the appearance of an unwieldy dagger. These, it has been discovered, were fixed into the ground, the crossbar preventing their sinking in too deep and allowing the top or anvil to be used for hammering out scythe blades blunted or disfigured during work. Their proper use was only learnt after diligent search by antiquaries, who found that portable anvils of similar design were used to-day in France and Spain, and that they were still manufactured in Birmingham for exportation to South America. The English, Spanish, and Roman makes were displayed side by side. The pottery case contained a very fine example of a pillared bowl of marble glass, blue in colour and almost transparent. No other complete example

of this work exists. It was found broken into sixteen pieces in a rubbish pit, and had been carefully pieced together. There was a collection of silver denarii found in a black vase in 1894, and ranging in date from the reigns of Marcus Antonius to Septimus Severus; and a Romano-British force-pump, found at the bottom of a well, and conforming to the description of a well-pump in use at the present time, attracted considerable attention.

Fortified with a good general idea of the plan of Silchester and of the nature and discoveries made in the Roman town, the party journeyed after lunch to obtain a practical lesson of modern methods of excavation

From a photograph by Mr. Jas. Baker.

SILCHESTER. A HYPOCAUST.

of ancient sites. They had been warned beforehand by Mr. St. John Hope not to raise their expectations to too high a pitch, since the work of the Society of Antiquaries is carried out on the Pitt-Rivers' plan and that in vogue at the ancient marsh settlement near Glastonbury, of replacing the earth after discovery. There was little to be seen at Silchester, and that

little would have been almost unintelligible without the explanations of Mr. Hope. His warning note of the sorry plight of the Basilica and forum was realised, when, on arrival, the visitors were shown a dreary waste of heaped-up earth and exposed foundations, which marked the sites of the Government offices, shops, committee-rooms, exchange, town hall, and court of justice. It was difficult to realise the stir of life that had once given animation to the spot. The large enclosure was now a scene of absolute desolation, unrelieved by even the comforting shade of a tree. From the ridge of earth that had been upturned at the time of the excavation the traces of the Roman streets could be seen marked out in the corn that covered part of the site of the walled Roman town, as they had been noticed years before by Leland. To the north of the forum the excavation of two *insulæ* was in progress, where workmen were seen digging trenches to the depth of three or four feet on the system the Society adopt in thei exploration. The outline of the street wall of each *insulæ* is exposed and parallel trenches are dug, so that no building less than six feet square can escape discovery. The foundations were laid bare of a great house, the rcoms of which were heaped up with the upturned earth. But one house which had been cleared of all surface earth showed the construction of the hypocaust or method by which the chambers were heated. The places of the furnace and chimney could be detected, as well as the channel or flues radiating under the floor, and giving the even temperature of a greenhouse to the rooms. Two different kinds of hypocausts could be seen—those which supported the floor by short pillars of square bricks, and those which gave support by blocks of masonry. The visitors left the city by the west gate, and walked outside the wall to examine the Roman masonry; and before returning to Reading unanimously passed a vote of thanks to Mr. St. John Hope for his kindness in devoting his time to the enlightenment and enjoyment of the party.

Mr. G. B. WITTS suggested that the best way in which members could show their gratitude was to make contributions to the Exploration Fund, which incurs a yearly expenditure of £500, and which can only be continued by the generous support of the public. Already about 60 out of 100 acres have been thoroughly examined, but a large portion of the city still remains to be explored. Nearly £4,000 have been subscribed and expended since the formation of the Silchester Exploration Fund, and it is estimated that a further sum of at least £3,000 will be required to complete the examination of the area within the walls.

After a further expression of thanks to Mr. Bazeley and Mr. Seth-Smith for all they had done for the Society, the party entered their carriages and returned to Reading; thus bringing to a conclusion a Summer Meeting which will long be remembered by all those who were fortunate enough to take part in it.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE, 1897.

1897.		£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	By Balance, as per Bank Book	367	13	1
	,, Annual Subscriptions, 1892–3 ...	0	10	6
	,, ,, ,, 1893–4 ...	3	3	0
	,, ,, ,, 1894–5 ...	4	4	0
	,, ,, ,, 1895 ...	7	17	6
	,, ,, ,, 1896 ...	57	15	0
	,, ,, ,, 1897 ...	127	1	0
	,, ,, ,, 1898 ...	6	16	6
	,, Entrance Fees	12	12	3
	,, Life Subscriptions	30	10	0
	,, Consols	11	10	0
	,, Donations	3	14	4
	,, Sale of *Transactions*	14	13	6
	,, Balance of Spring Meeting at Birdlip	4	2	0
	,, Balance of Summer Meeting at Stow	1	14	8
	,, Interest on Deposit Account	4	0	0
		£657	17	4

Unpaid Subscriptions (43), £22 11s. 6d.

1897.			£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	To Miscellaneous Printing		15	16	8
	,, Printing *Transactions*		126	4	1
	,, Books and Library		53	15	0
	,, Petty Disbursements		43	11	6
	,, Balance as per Bank Book	£414 10 0	418	10	0
	,, Interest on Deposit Account	4 0 0			
			£657	17	4

Audited and found correct,

H. W. BRUTON,
H. G. MADAN,
E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

MEMOIR OF THE FAMILY OF CODRINGTON OF CODRINGTON, DIDMARTON, FRAMPTON-ON-SEVERN, AND DODINGTON.

By R. H. CODRINGTON, D.D.

"It is a good proof," says Rudder, "of ancient descent when the name of the person is the same with the place where he resides, as Codrington of Codrington." This family takes its name from Codrington, a considerable hamlet, in the parish of Wapley and hundred of Grumbold's Ash, situated at the head of the little river Boyd, which runs into the Avon. Like its near neighbour, Dodington, this place no doubt owes its origin to the settlement of one of the small tribal families of the English, who formed their *tûn* on the edge of the Severn valley; and, considering the rarity of place-names of this form in this part of England, it is probable that these settlements were formed, not in the general advance made after the decisive battle of Dyrham, just above them, but by the independent enterprise of small parties of Codrings and Dodings. Codrington is not mentioned in Domesday, being included no doubt in Wapley.

Atkyns tells us that Wapley and Codrington were given by Henry II. to Radulph, son of Stephen, and that he immediately made the property over to the newly-founded Cistercian Abbey of Stanlegh, in Wiltshire. Richard I. twice confirmed this grant. Radulph gave at the same time the Church of Wapley to the Augustinians of Bristol. The elder house of Berkeley, one of whom held Wapley at the time of Domesday, held land also in Codrington, part of which was given to the Abbey of Malmesbury. In these grants the name of the place appears as Cudelington and Cuderingtone. A comparison of the many forms of spelling of the name

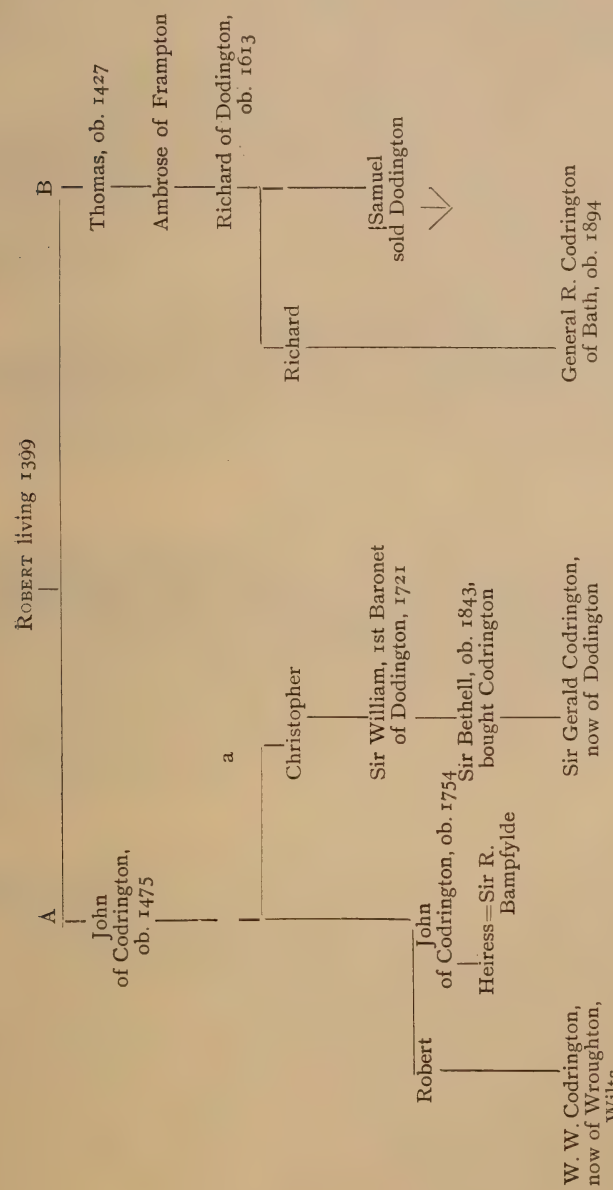
leads to the conclusion that the original pronunciation, like that which is remembered to be local, was Cotherington, with the first vowel sounded as in "other." [1]

In this hamlet, and probably, since there is no notice of the introduction of strangers, from among the ancient inhabitants of the place, arose the family which, taking its name from Codrington, has for six hundred years at least been closely connected with it. The first known of the name is *GEOFFREY*, who was born in the latter part of the reign of Edward I. From him the male line to the present owner of the place, Sir Gerald Codrington, can be clearly followed. The Manor did not belong to the family till the middle of the 15th century; it has twice passed from the name for a single generation by a female heir; but it has twice returned to the name in the male descent.

There have been since the beginning of the 15th century two main branches of the family: the elder, A, always of Codrington, and now also of Dodington; the younger, B, first of Frampton-on-Severn and then of Dodington,—in which place they have been succeeded by members of the elder branch. That both branches should have been settled at Dodington has naturally caused confusion; and to make clear the present position of the branches of the family it is well to start with the statement that a branch of the Codringtons of Codrington first bought Dodington from Codringtons of Dodington, and afterwards bought Codrington from the heirs of the elder line. The present baronets of Dodington have thus united the two ancient properties; the former owners of Codrington and Dodington having retired to Wiltshire and Somersetshire respectively.

[1] The form in the earliest mention of the name of the place, Cudelington, appears as Codelyngton so late as 1631. The family name appears in many variations; viz., Codrington, Codringtonne, Codryngton, Codrinton, Codrintonne, Codrynton, Coddrington, Cotherington, Cotherinton, Cotheryngton, Coderyngton, Cudrington, Cuddrington, Cuderington, Cutherington, Goodryngton, Guderington, Gudderington, Cothrindton, Cowdrington, Cooaddoringtonn.

The chief branches of the family are thus shown:—



GEOFFREY stands at the head of the Pedigree[1] wherever it is found, as being the father of Robert, from whom the two branches descend. It may be presumed that he was the principal inhabitant of Codrington under the Abbey of Stanlegh. From the birth of his grandson John in 1364, it may be supposed that he himself was born about 1300.

ROBERT, the second known member of the family, had property in Sodbury in 1399.[2] He must then have been an elderly man, since his son was then 35 years old. It is repeated in such printed notices of the family as exist that it was of good standing in the reign of Henry IV., into which the life of Robert Codrington is thus seen to have extended. From this point the family divides into the two branches already mentioned, proceeding from the sons of Robert, the elder (A) John and the younger (B) Thomas. The younger branch must be passed by for the present, and the line followed which starts with the elder son.

A 1. JOHN, known as the Standard Bearer of Henry V., was born, according to the tablet on his tomb, on the 25th of April, 1364; since he is recorded to have died October 9th, 1475, at the wonderful age of 111 years 5 months and 13 days. The confirmation of his arms shows that he was engaged in the French wars of Henry V. The license to have a portable altar in his house shows him married and in a position to have a chaplain in 1429. He no doubt then

[1] The Pedigrees in Atkyns and the other County Histories are incomplete and inconsistent, and so are those in the *Visitations*. There is a MS. Pedigree at Wroughton of no antiquity, which contains particulars the compiler probably drew from sources which cannot now be traced. In the Black Book of the Exchequer Galfridus de Coldrintone holds half a knight's fee under Pagan de Mandubel, in Gloucestershire, *temp*. Hen. II.

[2] *Sprye*.—About the year 1841 Captain Sprye undertook to compile a history of the family for Sir Bethell Codrington, who sent him from time to time papers in his possession at Dodington. On the death of Sir Bethell nothing more came of the history, and nothing is known of the papers. But Captain Sprye's letters remaining at Dodington are good evidence of what he saw in the papers sent, or found in the researches he made.

lived in the house at Codrington which was the home of his posterity; and he appears in the list of the gentry of Gloucestershire in 1434. Afterwards, in 1455, he became Lord of the Manor. Much later a levy of fines in 1471 shows him possessed of considerable property in the neighbourhood. In 1475 he died.

It is difficult no doubt to assign all this to one man's lifetime: but the inscription on his monument shews no sign of alteration, and must be of a date not very long posterior to his death; and the precise record of his age makes it appear that there was some reason for remembering even the day of his birth. Taking the dates as true, it would appear that he was in the wars of Henry V. at about the age of 50; that he returned and married a young woman, survived his son, and died in extreme old age.

1. *Portable Altar.* We learn from Atkyns that John Codrington obtained from the Pope in 1429 a license to have a portable altar in his house.[1] The license gives to John Codrington, layman of the Diocese of Worcester, and to his wife then being, permission to have a portatile altar with due reverence and honour, on which in suitable places mass and other divine offices might be celebrated, by their own or some

[1] A copy of this License is preserved in the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, in the notes of a parochial visitation of the Diocese of Gloucester made by Dr. Parsons, the Chancellor, in 1711. Martinus Episcopus, Servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio Johanni Codrington, laico, Wigorn. Dioc. ac ejus uxori in presenti existenti, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Sincere devotionis affectus quem ad nos et Romanam geritis Ecclesiam non indigne meretur ut petitionibus vestris, illis presertim quas ex devotionis fervore prodire conspicimus, quantum cum Deo possumus favorabiliter annuamus. Hinc est quod nos vestris devotis supplicationibus inclinati, ut liceat vobis habere Altare portatile cum debita reverentia et honore, super quo in locis ad hoc congruentibus et honestis possitis per proprium aut alium sacerdotem idoneum missam et alia divina officia sine juris alieni prejudicio, in vestra et familiarum vestrorum domesticorum presentia, facere celebrari . . . devotiones vestras tenore presentium Indulgemus. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ concessionis infringere, vel ea cassa temerarie contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit indignationem Omnipotentis Dei et Beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus . . . se noverit incursurum. . . . Maii Pontificatus nostri Anno 12.

other fit priest, in presence of themselves and their household servants. There had been, as Atkyns says, a long-standing contention between the Abbeys of Stanlegh and St. Augustine's, Bristol, which was ended in 1280 by permission to the Abbot of Stanlegh to build a chapel at Codrington for the sole use of the capital messuage. As a matter of fact the chapel, called the Codrington Chapel, adjoining the chancel of Wapley Church was built about that time, and the chapel at Codrington Court is much later. The probability is that no chapel was built in 1280 at Codrington, and that the portable altar was obtained so that John Codrington and his household need not go to church and pay dues at Wapley.

2. *Confirmation of Arms.* In 1419 Henry V. issued a proclamation forbidding all persons who had not borne arms at Agincourt to assume them, except by virtue of inheritance, or of a grant from the Crown. In consequence probably of this, John Codrington in 1441 obtained a confirmation of the Arms borne by him under the banner of Henry V.[1] This runs in the principal sentences as follows:—"To all gentlemen and others these present letters hearing or seeing Humble Recommendations by me Clarencieulx King of Arms, of the South Marche and Servant of Arms. . . . And where of late a gentleman of name and arms called John Codrington prayeing me—to report if cause require—to report on my word that this said gentleman John Codrington, bearing in his Arms 'of Silver a veece of Sable Batale counter batale Frett with Gowles, betweene three Lyons passants of the same,' the which arms being truly his and to his heirs. And I Clarencieulx Kinge of Arms confirm it, and witness bearing that the same John Codrington hath been armed in the present armes in the service of our Sovereign Lord King Henry the Fifth, in Battle Watch and Ward, under the said our Sovereign Lord's Banner, truly and duly unto the worship of the said John Codrington. In witness whereof I—have set to my seal of Arms and my sign manual the first day of July,

[1] Copies of this confirmation and of the grant of 1445 are in the Heralds' College, among the Harleian MSS in the British Museum and in the Bodleian Library. This is taken from the latter.

in the year of our Sovereign Lord Henry the Sixth, the XIXth."[1]

3. *Grant of Arms.* It seems strange that, after this confirmation of arms so respectably borne, a further grant should have been sought. However, in 1445 "Roger Leighe Clarenceaulx" gave and granted, and by his present writing confirmed to John Codrington, of the shire of Gloucester, gentleman, frank and free, for the good service he hath done, and shall do to our Sovereign Lord, and the worship of knighthood, arms, that is to say "of Synoble iii Roses of goules in a Bende of Silver; A Right Hand of the Bende in the left Quarter." This coat has never been used except as quartered with the older one.

4. *Purchase of the Manor.* In the year 1455, the Abbot of Stanlegh obtained permission to sell the manor to John Codrington, who thus became Lord, and entered into the rights of the Abbot. A fee farm of eleven pounds a year was to be paid to the Abbot.[2]

[1] It should be observed that the younger branch of the family, descended from Thomas, brother of this John, have used these arms with a plain fess without embattlement or fret; although confusion has naturally occurred. This plain fess appears in the plates of arms in Atkyns, and in the window at Calne described in vol. xviii., p. 134 of these *Transactions*. And Thomas was dead before this confirmation was made. It has therefore been supposed that the arms with the plain fess, which are of an earlier type, were, in fact, the earlier arms borne by the family. The same in a Roll of Arms of the time of Edward III., published by Sir Harris Nicolas, are given to Sir John de la Hoese, or Hussey, of the County of Berks. There can be no doubt about the arms properly borne by every member of the Codrington family. The red fess and black lions, which by some mistake are in some cases given, are evidently wrong.

[2] *Patent Rolls*, 33 Hen. VI.: "Quod Abbas de Stanley in Com. Wilts possit concedere Johanni de Codrington Armigero in feodo manerium de Codrington in Com. Glouc. pro annua firma undecim librarum." In Placita de Quo Warranto of Edward I.: "Abbas de Stanlegh sum^s fuit ad respondendum, &c." The Abbot, through his attorney, pleaded that he and his predecessors had view of frankpledge, that he had a gallows and tumbrel, that he did not claim to receive the moneys which came from murder, but that he and his men should be "quieti de murdro." The Abbot's claim was allowed. At the dissolution of the monastery the farm fell to the Crown. According to Sprye, it was paid to the Crown in 1535, and sold by Charles II. to John Mann. According to Harleian MS. 5013 the farm was granted by Edward VI. to William Thorpe.

5. *Levy of Fine.* Atkyns tells us that in 49th year of Henry VI., 1471, John Codrington and Alice his wife levied a fine of lands in Codrington, Wapley, Dodington, Chipping Sodbury, Upton in Hawkesbury, and Tormarton, to themselves and to their sons John, Thomas, and Humphrey, successively in tail, with remainder to Margaret late wife of Sir Peter Besiles.

6. *Death.* According to the inscription on his tomb in Wapley Church, John Codrington died on the 9th October, 1475.[1] An altar tomb with two incised crosses on the upper slab is of good 15th century work, but no signs of interment underneath it were found in the late restorations. In the church, at the entrance to the chancel, there was in 1852 a slab with the inscription, "Hic jacet Johs de Codrington armiger—" which may have covered his grave. The two panelled arches which separate the Codrington chapel from the chancel are of later date.

7. The widow of John Codrington lived till April 20th, 1489. The inquisition after her death[2] shows that she was possessed of the manors of Codrington and Wapley, with certain lands there, and lands in Chipping Sodbury and elsewhere in the county. Her heir was Christopher

[1] The inscription, on a tablet contemporary with the panelled arches, is "Hic jacet Joh'es Codry'ton armiger qui Obiit Nono die Mensis octobris anno d'ni M° cccc° lxxv° Cuius Etas Erat die quo Obiit cxi° annor' v° mensiu' xiii° dieru' Cui'ꝰ a'i'e p'piciet' de' amen." An engraving of the monument is among Lysons' *Gloucestershire Antiquities*, plate xxxiv.

[2] The inquisition of Alice Coderyngton, widow, was taken September 20th, 6th of Henry VII. It recites that she had by a deed dated at Sodbury, in the 1st of Henry VII. enfeoffed Christopher Twynyho Clk, William Besylys, Thomas Codryngton, and William Twynyho, Esq., who survive, with the manors and lands undermentioned. She died 16th July last; Christopher Codrynton, aged 22 and more, is her cousin and heir, viz., son of John, her son. Her property is the Manors of Codrynton and Wappeley with certain lands held of John Abbot of Stanley by fealty and £11 rent; certain lands in Chepyng Sodbery and elsewhere in the county, held of Margaret, Countess of Warwick, as of the Manor of Olde Sodbyry by fealty and 5s. 9d. rent. The clear value of both manors and lands is £20 16s. 9d. and more.

Codrynton, "her cousin and heir; viz., son of John her son."

Atkyns says that Alice was daughter of Thomas Young, and also that she was sister of Margaret Lady Besiles. If the latter, her name was Hawes or Hawys; and a connexion with the Besiles family certainly appears later.[1]

8. The sons of John and Alice, as in the Fine, were John (A 2), Thomas, and Humphrey. *Thomas* survived, as shown by the Inquisition; *Humphrey* was Escheator of Gloucestershire in the seventh year of Edward IV., 1467.[2] A daughter, *Margaret*, married John le Veale, a member of a knightly family.[3]

A 2. JOHN.—The Inquisition of Alice shows that her son John, alive in 1471, was dead in 1485, and was the father of Christopher, the heir of Alice. In Sir John's Maclean's "Pedigree of the Poyntz Family," in vol. xii. of these *Transactions*, a daughter of Sir Nicholas Poyntz, of Iron Acton, ob. 1467, is shown to have married John Codrington. This John had two sons, Christopher (A 3) and Edward (A 7), through the latter of whom the male line of the family was continued.

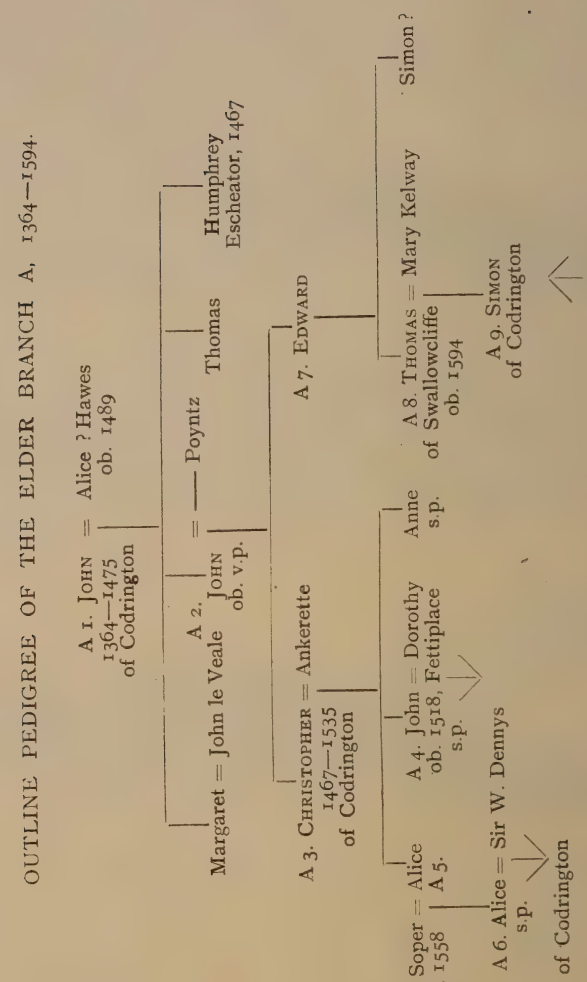
A 3. CHRISTOPHER was 22 years old and more in 1489, as is shown in the Inquisition above mentioned. By another Inquistion, taken at Cirencester, November 11th,

[1] The family of Besils of Besils Leigh, in Berks, is well known. In Nichols' *Top. and Gen. Miscellany*, Sir Peter de Besiles is shown to have married Margaret daughter of Hannys (for Hauuys, since elsewhere it is Hawes), who afterwards married William Warbleton. She died in 1483, and her inquisition shows her possessed of much property in Hants and elsewhere.

[2] Sir John Maclean. The illness of Sir John Maclean prevented him from carrying out his intention of following up his Memoirs of the Poyntz and Guise families by another on the Codrington family. He gave what he had collected to the present writer, and asked him to go on with the work.

[3] The knightly family of Veale or Le Veal was at that time flourishing in the county. Susan, the daughter of John le Veale and Margaret Codrington, married first James Berkeley of Bradley, and secondly Richard Ivy of Kingston.

OUTLINE PEDIGREE OF THE ELDER BRANCH A, 1364—1594.



1510,[1] it is shown that he was then married, his wife's name being *Ankarette*. It recites how Alice, as related above, enfeoffed Christopher Twynyho and the others with her manors and other properties, who should make to Christopher Codryngton and Ankarette, his wife, such jointure as should be suitable, and the remainder to go to the heirs of Christopher. William Besylis was then the sole survivor of the feoffees. Christopher Codryngton was then 40 years old and more.

There is a further record of the payment of the fee farm of £11 to the Crown, after the dissolution of the Abbey of Stanlegh, by Christopher, at the age of 68, in 1535. It is of him that Leland says: "There dwellyd alate at Coderington a gentleman of that name." In the Household Accounts of Edwd. Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, 1521, there is an entry of 2s. paid "to a servant of Mr. Cothrindton's, near Bristow, showing two great horses," probably referring to this gentleman.

It is no doubt to the time of the long possession of Codrington by Christopher that the building of the older

[1] The jurors witness that one Alice Codryngton, widow, was seised of the Manors of Codryngton and Wapley with the appurtenances, and seven messuages, three tofts, three hundred acres of land, sixty acres of meadow, two hundred acres of pasture and twenty acres of wood, with the appurtenances, in Codryngton and Wapley; and of six messuages or burgages and six gardens, with the appurtenances, in Chepyng Sodbury; and of one messuage, forty acres of land, six acres of meadow, and twenty acres of pasture, with appurtenances, at Dodyngton; also of one messuage, one toft, sixty acres of land, three acres of meadow, and twenty acres of pasture, with appurtenances, in Tormerton, in her demesne as of fee. The Manors, etc., in Codrington and Wapley were held (as above) of the Abbot of Stanley, and were worth by the year £14. The property in Chipping Sodbury was held of the King in free burgage as of his Earldom of Warwick by fealty and the rent of 5s., and was worth by the year 60s. The property in Dodington was held of Edmund Wykes, Esq., of his Manor of Dodington, by the rent of 2d., worth 40s. the year. That in Tormarton was held of Edward Wadham, Esq., and Isabella his wife, and worth 26s. and 8d.

The singular Christian name of Ankarette was that of the wife of William Twinyho, of Kayford, Somerset, daughter and heir of — Hawkstone. The wife, then, of Christopher Codrington may have been daughter of his trustee, William Twynyho.

parts of the Court House there now existing must be referred. The chapel shows clearly that the parts of the house with which it corresponds were built before the Reformation; and the plaster work of the chapel ceiling, of the gallery which looked into the chapel, and of another room is all alike. The chapel window alone looks older.[1]

The date of Christopher's death does not appear, but it is probable that he was buried in the Codrington Chapel at Wapley, where the slab which probably covered his grave remains.[2]

His children were John (A 4), Alice (A 5), and Anne, who died s.p. probably unmarried.

A 4. The Pedigrees show JOHN, son of Christopher, to have died s.p. In the Church of Appleton, in Berkshire, is a brass to the memory of John Goodryngton[3] with mention of his wife Dorothy, who took religion in the monastery of

[1] In 1852, when the present writer first saw Codrington, the chapel, which is very small, had over the eastern part a plaster ceiling with a pendant. The stone altar was complete in its place, though desecrated. The pargetted ceiling, which still remains over the western part of the chapel, was lower than the ceiling over the altar, being, as is so often seen in domestic chapels, the floor of the end of a long chamber called the gallery, the ceiling of which is richly pargetted in Tudor style. In the end of this gallery there were openings looking into the chapel. Above this gallery was a room called the Priest's Chamber. Much has now been altered, the slab only of the altar remains. The only fragment of glass has been removed for safety to Dodington.

[2] The Codrington Chapel, in Wapley Church, was used as a school. On the large grave-stone referred to, there has been a large coat of arms, of which all that now can be made out, close to the South wall, is the end of a fess embattled, counterembattled and fretty, and two paws of a lion. Of the inscription, there remains only "cujus anime propitietur Deus, Amen." The chapel was apparently remodelled in the time of Christopher, the windows and the panelled arches separating it from the chancel being of this date.

[3] The inscription on the brass runs; "Here lies John Goodryngton, gentleman, which deceased the last day of December, an° Dn̄, MCCCCCXVIII. Of your charite p̄ry for hys soule, and for Dorothy hys wyfe, which after hys dethe toke relygyon in ye Monastery of Sion." The figure is shrouded.

Sion. The will of Dorothy Codrington,[1] made before she entered the convent, shews her husband to have been John Codrington, and that she was sister of John Fettiplace. Appleton came to the Fettiplaces from the Besiles. Christopher has been shown to have survived this John; and there can be no doubt that John buried at Appleton was the same as John son of Christopher, who died s.p. before his father.

A 5. ALICE, the daughter of Christopher, became his heir, and, as Atkyns tells us, carried the Manor of Codrington and other property to her husband, *John Soper*. His will,[2] dated October 15th, 1558, was proved in the following February. He is described as of Codryngton, Esquire, and speaks of Mr. Codryngton, his father-in-law. The coat of arms which remained in the chapel of the Court was no doubt that of John Soper and his wife.[3]

A 6. The daughter of John Soper and Alice Codrington was ALICE, who married Sir Walter *Dennys*, of Dyrham (Atkyns, Rudder). She was, as his will shows, the second

[1] The will, proved at Lambeth, February 1531, as of Dorothe Codryngton of Syon, Middlesex, made before entering the house or monastery of Syon, directs money to be spent in paving the chancel where her husband lies buried, or in some other needful work therein, after the discretion of her brother, John Fettiplace. She leaves money for building a hermitage by Radcotte Bridge, or else to the repair of the highways thereabouts, and for the prisoners in Oxford Castle; and founds an obit for the soul of her husband where he lies buried. Radcott had come to Fettiplace from Besiles.

[2] The will directs "my bodie to be buried in the Ile called Codrington Ile, there to lie in the south side of the same Ile." It gives to "my cosyn Symon Codrington one cuppe of myne own plate." Mentions Sir Walter Denys and Thomas Codrington. "I will my well-beloved wife Alice Soper to have all my goods, chattels, plate, jewells—for time of her life, and after her decease I will all the plate and goods which was Mr. Codryngton's to be at the will, order, and disposition of my said wife, whom I do of all my goods not bequeathed make and constitute my sole executores."

[3] The coat is arg. on a fess gules between three phials or bottles (of no remaining colour), three mullets or, impaling arg. a fess embattled, counterembattled sable, fretty—between three lions gules. The colour of the fret is gone.

wife of Sir Walter, and survived him.[3] He died in 1571. When Lady Dennys died does not appear. On her death she was succeeded by Simon Codrington (A 9), and thus the family property, which had for a few years passed out of the name of Codrington, returned to the name again.

In a Recognizance in the Close Rolls dated February 1, 12th Elizabeth, $15\frac{69}{70}$, Simon Codrington is described as "Consanguineus et hæres apparens Dominæ Aliciæ Dennys uxoris Walteri Dennys Militis." It is provided that on his marriage with Agnes Seacole she should enjoy the Manor of Wapley, &c., after the decease of Sir Walter and Lady Dennys, and of Simon himself.

Before passing to the descent of Simon (A 9), with whom the line of the family is continued, the names of three other members of the family, as may be supposed, may well be mentioned, though their place in the Pedigree cannot be found. 1. The last Prior of Malmesbury Abbey was John Codrington, Bachelor of Divinity, who at the dissolution of the Monastery had a pension of £10 assigned to him. 2. On the suppression of Chantries Sir John de Coderyngton, æt. 80, was incumbent of Trinity Chapel in Dursley Church, having no other maintenance. 3. A more important person was one of whom it is stated that "Symon Cotherington and Anne Dennys were married 1543." Smyth in his *Lives of the Berkeleys* says that of this marriage there was no issue, and tells us that the lady was the daughter of Sir Walter Dennys of Pucklechurch, by Margaret, daughter of Sir Richard Weston of Sutton Place, Surrey.[1] Thus in successive generations there were two Simon Codringtons.

A 7. The brother of Christopher (A 3) was EDWARD,

[1] The will, proved 11th May, 1571, by Dame Alice Denys and Thomas Ivie, mentions his sons, Sir Walter and Richard. To his sister, Mary Denys, he leaves his best bed, bolster, blanket, and best coverlet, being in Codrington; to his son, Sir Walter Denis, his third bed, "that came from Dyrham, and now being at Codrington."

[2] Smyth, *Lives of Berkeleys*, ii., 188. Sir William Denis of Dyrham, married Anne daughter of Maurice Lord Berkeley, *temp.* Henry VII. Their son Sir Walter married Margaret, whose daughter Anne married Simon Codrington, Esq., who is dead without issue.

through whom all pedigrees continue the male line of the elder branch of the family, as father of Thomas (A 8). He became, under circumstances which are unknown, a resident in Wiltshire, where in 1511 he served as a juror.[1] His son was Thomas, as just mentioned; and it seems likely that Simon who married Anne Dennys may have been another son, and the elder of the two, from the mention of Simon in the will of John Soper before Thomas, at a time, 1558, when Simon, son of Thomas (ob. 1631), was a child.

A 8. From THOMAS, the son of Edward (A 7), the direct line to the present time is proved in the Heralds' College. He did not himself come into possession of Codrington, but he has his place at the head of the next section of the Pedigree. This is no doubt the Thomas Codrington mentioned in John Soper's will. He lived apparently in Wiltshire, where his father, Edward, had resided, and where his wife's family had property. He married *Mary*, daughter and co-heir of John *Kellewaye* and Joan *Tregarthin*. By this lady he had two sons, Simon (A 9), who succeeded to Codrington, and John (A 10), of Sutton Mandeville; and two daughters, Alice, wife of Thomas *Hyett*, of Wotton, Somerset, and another, wife of Hugh *Hervey*, of Bristol.[2] Thomas died intestate, and administration of his estate was granted February 10th, 159$\frac{4}{5}$, to his son Simon; he is described as "while he lived, of Swallowcliffe."

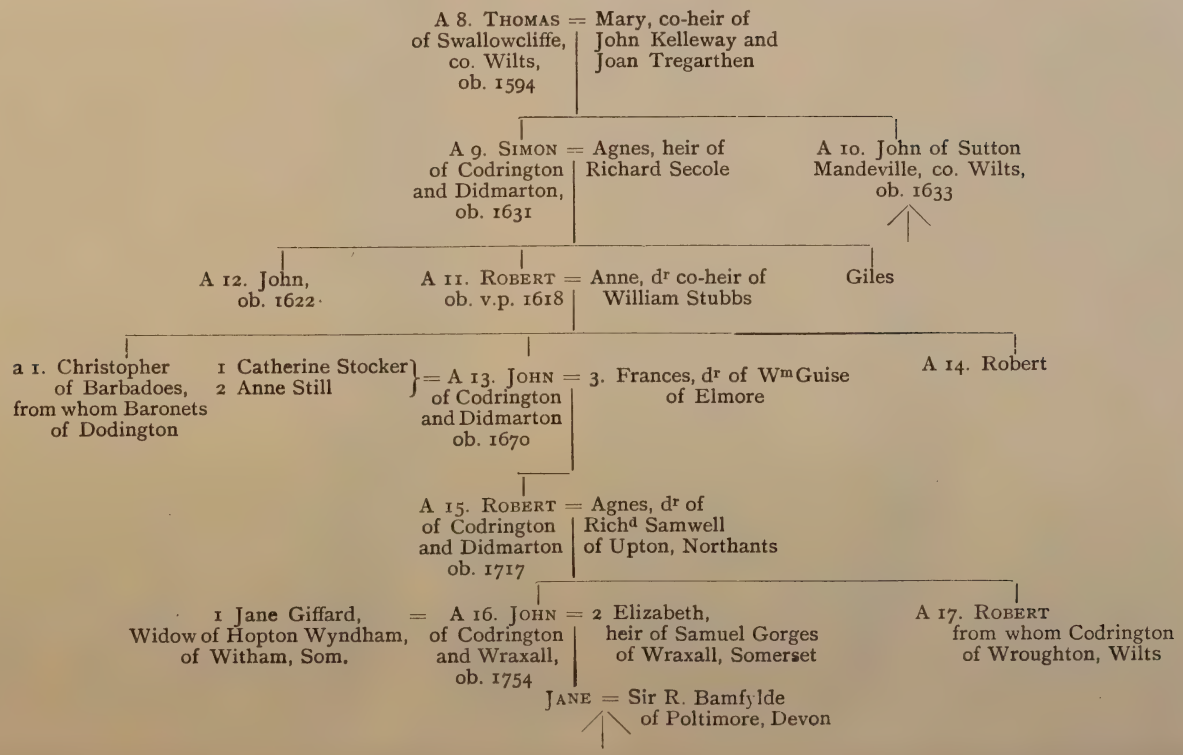
John Kellewaye[3] was a member of an ancient family of which there were two branches, one in Devonshire and the

[1] Letters and Papers *temp*. Henry VIII., Rolls Series 1854. The proceedings were to determine the patronage of the Church of Bereford, now Barford.

[2] Visitation of Somerset, 1573, and Wroughton Pedigree.

[3] The name is spelt Kelway, Kellewaye, Kayleway, Keilway, Keylewaye, Caleway, Calewe, Cayleway, Kelloway. William Kaylway of Sherborne, Dorset, in the time of Edw. II. was ancestor of the Wilts, Dorset, and Hampshire branch, the last representative of which was Robert Kelwaye, ob. 1544. According to Dugdale's *Baronage* the Kelways were a branch of the family of Giffard. On the inquisition p.m. of John Giffard of Brimsfield, "compertum est quod Johannes de Keileway est hæres de integro sanguine." 1. Edw. III.

OUTLINE PEDIGREE OF ELDER BRANCH, 1594—1754.



other in Dorset, Wilts, and latterly in Hants. Though himself of Cullompton, Devon, he belonged to the Dorset and Wilts branch of the family.[1] He is described, when purchaser of Stoke Gaylard, Dorset (Hutchins), as "gentleman and merchant of the staple of the town of Calyse." His will, 13th February, 1530, leaves 20s. to the church at Cullompton, speaks of his son George and of Sir Giles Strangwaies, his trustee, and mentions an indenture, dated 10th October, 1529, in which he had declared his will. He names daughters as yet unmarried. Swallowcliffe, in Wilts, probably came to Thomas Codrington with his wife, since there was property of the Kelleways thereabouts.

The wife of John Kelleway, as widow of John Wadham, lived and died at Edge, in Branscombe, Devon. Her tomb is in Branscombe Church.[2] Her mother was Jane Trethurffe, whose mother was Elizabeth Courtenay, sister of

[1] This is shewn partly by the residence of John Kelleway's son-in-law and grandson in places in Wiltshire, and partly by his arms. On the tomb of his wife at Branscombe, to be mentioned below, his shield has the engrailed bordure which distinguished the Dorset branch. The quarterings on his shield also (the colours gone) are the same as those on the shield of a Kelway of Sherborne, once in glass in Wells Cathedral.—*Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries.*

[2] The inscription on the tomb was: "Here lieth intombed the Body of a virtuous and antient Gentlewoman, descended of the antient House of the Plantagenets, sometime of Cornwall, namely, Joan, one of the Daughters and Heirs unto John Tregarthin, in the County of Cornwall, Esq: She was first married unto John Kelleway, Esq: who had by her much issue: After his death she was married to John Wadham, of Meryfield, in the county of Somerset, Esq: and by him had — children. She lived a virtuous and godly life, and died in an honourable Age. Sept. —, in the year of Christ, 1581."—Prince's *Worthies of Devon;* Jackson's *Wadham College.*

Thomas Tregarthen, M.P. for Liskeard, 27 Hen. VI., married Margaret, heiress of Richard Hendower, whose great-grandfather, David Hendower, married Margaret, daughter and heiress of John Cornwall, of Court in Brannell, M.P. for Truro, 6 Edw. III. His grandfather was Richard of Cornwall, illegitimate son of Richard Earl of Cornwall and King of the Romans, brother of Henry III.

On the tomb at Branscombe the two husbands, John Kelleway and John Wadham, kneel opposite each other. Behind each of them is Joan their wife, with fourteen children of Kelleway and six of Wadham. Above

the ninth Earl of Devon, and so a descendant of Edward I. John Kelleway's will speaks of his wife's inheritance in Cornwall, Devon, and Southampton.

A 9. In SIMON, the elder son of Thomas, the ancient home of the family returned on the death of Lady Dennys to the male line. As provided in the recognizance before mentioned, Simon married *Agnes*, daughter and heir of Richard *Secole* of Kingswood, Co. Wilts, who had died some years before.[1] She brought her husband, who had not yet succeeded to Codrington, the estate of Didmarton, where he built the handsome house figured in Atkyns; a wing of which, now the Rectory, remains, the main body having been destroyed by fire. This house became for four generations the principal seat of the family. Agnes Codrington lived till December 28th, 1618, and is buried in Didmarton Church under a plain stone with name and date.

Simon Codrington was Escheator for Gloucestershire in 20th and 33rd year of Queen Elizabeth.[2] Among those who contributed for the defence of the country at the time of the

are three shields, her lozenge in the middle, and the others above the husbands with her arms impaled with theirs.

The daughters and, by the death of their brother George, co-heirs of John Kelleway and Joan Tregarthin married—Mary the elder, W. Cooke, of Thame, Devon; Mary, the younger, Thomas Codrington; Florence, Rd. Grenville, of Penheale, afterwards Farington; Anne, Wm. Harland, of Kingsland; Agnes, Henry Lyte of Lyte's Carey; another, to J. Drake of Ashe. The children of John Wadham and Joan Tregarthin were—Nicholas, Founder of Wadham College, Oxford; Joan, wife of Sir Giles Strangways; Margaret, wife of Nicholas Martin of Athelhampton; Florence, married to John Wyndham.

[1] The will of Richard Seacoll, proved February 17, 1558, leaves all to his daughters, Agnes and Grisell, and if they die unmarried or without sons to Richard, his brother's son. In the *Visitation of Gloucestershire*, 1625, Richard Salkell, *alias* Seacole (arms, Vert, a lion rampant argent) is shown to have two daughters—Agnes, wife of Simon Codrington; and Grisell, wife of Richard Spert of Kingswood, son of Sir Thomas Spert of Stebenhithe, Controller of Ships to Henry VIII. The name is spelt Secole, Seacole, Salcoll, Salkell, and Salkeld. The family came from Oxfordshire. There is a brass to the memory of William Secole, apparently the brother of Richard, in the church at Stanton Harcourt, of the year 1557.

[2] Sir J. Maclean.

Armada was "Symon Cotherington of Cotherington Armiger," l. 50.[1] When a subsidy was raised in the 5th year of James I., 1607, Simon Codrington of Didmarton was charged £25.[2] He was also one of the adventurers for the foundation of the Colony of Virginia, in which his son John (A 12) was personally engaged.[3]

Simon Codrington survived his eldest son Robert (A 11), and died March 26th, 1631. He lies under a plain slab of stone in Didmarton Church, with name and date. The Inquisition taken after his death at Wotton-under-Edge, September 8th, 1631, shows him, his name being spelt Codrington, to have died seised of the manor of 'Codelyngton,' *alias* Codrington, and Wapley, the Manor and Advowson of Didmarton, and other property in Tormarton, Chipping Sodbury, Dodington, Oldbury, and Kingswood.[4] He had also, till he sold it to his brother (John A 10), a freehold in Sherston Magna, Wilts, mentioned by Aubrey.

The children of Simon were Robert (A 11), John (A 12), and Giles.[5]

[1] *Names of Nobility, Gentry, &c.*, London, 1798, from MS. of 1588. There was only one other contributor of £50 in the county, Paul Tracie.

[2] Atkyns.

[3] "The names of the Adventurers for Virginia, according to a printed book set out by the Treasurer and Council in the present yeere, 1620."—*Captain John Smith's Works.*

[4] The Inquisition is printed among those of Gloucestershire, 1st to 11th of Charles I., p. 138. At Tormarton there was 1 cottage, 120 acres of land, 5 of meadow; in Chipping Sodbury, 7 messuages, 7 gardens, 7 orchards, 3 acres of pasture, and common of pasture for all beasts; in Dodington, 50 acres of pasture; in Oldbury, 1 messuage, 60 acres of land, 3 of meadow, and common of pasture for all beasts; in Kingswood, 1 messuage, 1 fulling and 1 grain mill, 2 acres with the messuage, another messuage called Bunsell, with 46 acres, a close and pasture called Whitecross Field, and the moiety of a close called the Ley. It recites the arrangements made on the marriage of his son Robert, and of his grandson John. The Manor of Codrington and Wapley was worth £12 a year; the Manor of Didmarton and advowson, held of the Honour of Hereford, 50s.; the property at Tormarton, 13s. 4d.; at Sodbury, 6s. 8d; at Kingswood, 13s. 4d.

[5] Nicholas Wadham, Founder of Wadham College, in his will, 1609, left "to my cousin and servant, Gyles Codrington, £20." Another Gyles, of Pucklechurch, died before this date.

This prosperous gentleman has unfortunately left a bad character behind him. Smyth, in his *Lives of the Berkeleys*, mentions that Henry Lord Berkeley, in 1584, exhibited a bill against Simon Codrington and others (creatures to Sir Thomas Throkmerton) for hunting and killing deer in his parks. The Wiltshire records at Devizes refer to a similar indictment, or the same, in 1584 for "forcible entry." But in the Burghley Papers in the British Museum[1] is a letter from the Lord President and Council of the Marches of Wales to the Lord Keeper and the Lord Treasurer, concerning the misbehaviour of Simon Cotherington, with a state of the case, and an instruction to the Council, dated May 5th, 1598. "Cotherington for incontinent living" was called before the Council, and to avoid punishment alleged that he had already been condemned by his ordinary the Chancellor of Gloucester to corporal penance, commuted to the payment of £10 yearly to a poor scholar in Oxford, and therefore ought not to be punished twice. This punishment was thought fraudulent; but at any rate more punishment was thought "both lawful and needful." For Cotherington had been rescued by force from the Sheriff's arrest; he had probably bribed the Chancellor with £30, and had tried to bribe in the Court. "The foul offence of many wives, adultery, and the like is of all most rife in these parts, notwithstanding these double punishments." "The party in question Cotherington himself hath been heretofore both fined and committed for the like offence; and if public shame, open detection and deep fines could not restrain him, it is likely he will not hereafter be more regardful, when all may be ended better cheap with a friend in his study." The arguments of the Council prevailed; but what was done to the culprit does not appear.

A 10. JOHN, the brother of Simon, had a long and troublous life, and was the founder of a branch of the family at Sutton Mandeville, in Wiltshire, who were like him "Romish Recusants." He was in trouble with the Star Chamber in 1582; and again, in 1585, Symon Codrington of Didmarton, and

[1] Lansdowne MS. 87, 6.

John Codrington, late of "Fiffielde," co. Wilts,[1] were bound in the sum of £200 that the said John should appear before the Queen's Commissioners upon notice, and in the meantime behave as a good subject.[2] After this, in 1590, John, described as of Clerkenwell, gent., bought from his brother Simon lands called Ives in Wilkin, in the parish of Sherston, Wilts.[3] In 160$\frac{3}{4}$ John Codrington, of New Sarum,[4] gent., was bound over to keep the peace, himself in £20, and two sureties in £10. In Jan. 160$\frac{5}{6}$ "Mrs. Cudrington, wife of John Cudrington, gent., at Sutton Manfield (Mandeville) refuseth to come to Church, and Mr. John Cudrington himself and his son Edward are continually coming and going but never come to Church." Recusancy, however, was not his only fault: "John Cuddrington, of Sutton Mandeville, Esq." was bound over in £40 and two sureties in £20 each to keep the peace towards Will. Jey of Compton Chamberlayne, September, 1603.

This gentleman succeeded apparently to his father's property at Swallowcliffe, and to his grandfather, John Kelway's, property in Dorset.[5] The Inquisition after his death,[6] on April 16th, 1633, taken at Marlborough, September 23rd, 1635, shows him possessed of considerable property. He

[1] The will of Martin Keyleway, of Tillington, Dorset, December 4, 1575, speaks of a lease of years, not yet expired, granted by John Cotherington, of Fiffhed, of a certain meadow in Purbeck. The place is Fifehead.

[2] Harleian MSS. 286. 4, in British Museum, and Close Rolls.

[3] Close Rolls.

[4] *Quarter Sessions Records* at Devizes.

[5] Hutchins' *Dorset, Stoke Gaylard.*

[6] He was seised of 12 messuages, 9 barns, 1 dovecot, 12 gardens, 12 orchards, 400 acres of land, 40 acres of meadow, 100 of pasture, 10 of wood, common of pasture for 400 sheep in Sutton Mandeville, Swallowcliffe and Tisbury; the Lordship manor or farm of Leverstock *alias* Larstocke in Stoke Abbott, co. Dorset; 1 messuage, 1 barn, 1 garden, 1 orchard, 15 acres of land, 5 of meadow and 5 of pasture in Ashcott, co. Somerset; 30 acres of land, 4 of pasture in Butleigh and Charleton. The premises in Wilts were held of Lord Arundell of Wardour as of his manor of Sutton Mandeville by service of 1 pair of gloves or 1 penny yearly.

had survived his eldest son, Edward, who had died January 1st, 1617, leaving a widow, Martha.[1] His heir was *Edward*, his grandson, who had married, March, 1628, Frances, daughter of Francis Perkins[2] (of Ufton, co. Berks). John had a surviving son, Thomas.

Edward, thus succeeding his grandfather in his property and recusancy, had his estate at Larstock, valued in 1641 at £100 per annum, sequestered in 1645.[3] In 1645, October 2nd, Edward Codrington, of Sutton Mandeville, "a recusant, but not in arms," compounded for his estate at Sutton. In the two following years he paid rent to the State. Again in 1654 he petitioned to contract.[4] In 1665 he and his wife were presented as recusants, and they again in 1679, with William, Francis, Thomas, Bonny,[5] and Winifred, and again with Francis, gent., Frances and Constance,[6] spinsters. This gentleman died at Sutton, and was buried there, January 24th, 1678.[7] His son, *Edward*, died before him,[8] and was buried

[1] The will and codicil of James Howper of Meriet, co. Somerset, gent. leaves £20 each to his kinswoman Ann Codrington and his godson (or as in another note of Sir J. Maclean, *grandson*) Edward Codrington. It thus appears likely that John's (A. 10) wife's name was Ann.—Sir J. Maclean.

[2] Francis Perkins of Ufton Court, Berks, married Anne, daughter of Edmund Plowden of Plowden, Salop, and of Burghfield, Berks., Serjeant at Law. Anne, a daughter of Edward Codrington and Frances Perkins, married William Pordage of Rodmersham in Kent; she died 1723, aged 82, and is buried in Bradfield Church, Berks.

[3] Hutchins' *Dorset*, "Mr. Coddrington's estate." Public Records.

[4] *Wilts Magazine*, November, 1892, on the Falstone Day book.

[5] Bonaventura as below.

[6] Quarter Sessions Records at Devizes..

[7] Sutton Mandeville Register. His will, however, is dated April 10th, 1679. In this he mentions his sons Thomas, Francis, and Bonaventura, and Henry the son of his son John, as benefitting by his will, and also his son William. He names his daughters Mary Berrington and Winifred Gawen; £1,000 is to be raised out of Larstock for the younger children. In this the name is throughout Codrinton.

[8] His will leaves £40 to his father, all goods, etc., to his wife Mary, "and afterwards to the child which is now in her wombe." Charles White is called his brother. The name here is Cotherinton. The widow, Mary, was alive in 1673 when administration of the will of her daughter Mary, of Sutton Mandeville, spinster, was granted to her.

at Sutton, April 14th, 1664. Other members of this family are no doubt William Cothrington, citizen and merchant taylor, who was concerned in sequestrated property in 1651; and Thomas Codrington, whose sermon preached before James II., in St. James's, was printed in 1686. The will of Harry of Chideock, Dorset (*see* note 2), is dated 1738.

A 11. We now return to ROBERT, son of Simon (A 9). His name appears in the list of Commoners at Winchester, in 15—. He matriculated at Magdalen College, Oxford, as Robert Codrinton, Glouc., gen. fil. æt. 14, on February 9th, 158$\frac{8}{9}$.[1] The Inquisition taken after his father's death shows that in 1583 provision was made for him on his marriage with *Anne Stubbs*, by assigning to his use certain parts of the property at Codrington.[2] The same shows that in 1618 provision was made out of the Didmarton property for his son and heir, John, upon his marriage; and that Robert himself died very shortly after, February 17th, 1619, in his father's lifetime. The will[3] of Robert himself, proved May

[1] It is worth while to notice the School and University as showing the course of education for gentlemen then beginning.

[2] A fine was levied between William Stubbs and Thomas Estcourt, Esquires, plaintiffs, and Simon Codrington and his wife, deforciants, as to pastures called "Inychins," "The Worthye," "The Gaston," and meadows called "Tyninges," "Mickle Meade," and "Little Mickle Meade."

[3] He yields his body "to the earth from whence it came, to be interred in decent and comely sort without all or any pomp, ostentation or ensigns of mournings at all, because I shall be in white apparel with God in his glory presently after my departure out of this miserable peregrination." He leaves £200 apiece to his daughters Elizabeth, Anne, Susan, Dorothy, and Joyce, and to the third daughter "Francis" £100, to be paid within six months after marriage; and to the youngest now living, Mary, £300, to be paid within a year after the death of Mrs. Margaret Caple, wife of William Caple of Warrinton, co. Somerset, Esq. The two elder daughters are to have £20 a year each till marriage, and all are to be brought up by their mother. The six younger sons are to have £10 apiece yearly for meat, drink, and apparel, with good education. His property at Codrington he gives to his eldest son, John, on condition that he gives his six brothers £20 apiece within the year. All the rest he leaves to his wife and executrix. His friends Sir Thos. Estcourt and Mr. Thos. Ivye, his brothers John and Giles, to be overseers. The signature is "Rob'te Codringtonne."

7th, 1619, and made six days before his death, describes him as "now within the precincte of the Cathedrall Churche of Bristoll,[1] gentleman, being somewhat crased in Bodie, but in moste perfect sence and mynde." There is in the Cathedral an elaborate tomb, in the taste of the time, formerly in the choir, now at the east end of the north aisle of the choir,[2] with figures of Robert and his wife with their children, a long epitaph, and coats of arms, unfortunately repainted.[3]

[1] He lived probably in one of the houses burnt down in the Riots of 1831. Such a house was remembered and described to the writer by a Bristol tradesman of the name of Codrington, who said there were coats of arms of Codrington in the windows.

[2] It is shown in its former place in Barrett's plan of the Cathedral; the defacement of the beautiful tabernacle work in which it is now placed is not due to this monument.

The inscription is: "Generosis. viro Dom. Roberto Codrintoneo, a Codrintonea in Comitatu Glocest: armigero, atavorum imaginibus splendidissimo, fidei morumque candore spectatissimo, Febr. 14° post incarnatum Deum 1618°, Ætatis suæ 46° ex hoc vitæ ergastulo emancipato, clarissima et charissima conjunx Dom^a Anna Codr^a, ex qua 8 filios filiasque 9 genuit,

Am et Hon	oris	ergo	moni monu	mentum posuit	Robertus Codrintoneus anagramma Ore et corde justus beor.

Plangite, discessi, quin plaudite, vita beata
Est mihi, cumque solo gratior, inque polo.
Hic mens hic soboles, volitatque per aera vastum
Fama Codrintonei non moritura pii.
Os homini, Domino patuit *Cor*, conscia recti
Mens mihi vel nullis contaminata malis.
Ore fui *Justus*, merces durabilis Aura,
Corde fui Justus (præmia magna) *Beor*."

A part of the original inscription, now replaced by the record of a renovation by Sir Bethell Codrington, is given by Browne Willis:—

"Fides Spes Charitas	Dei	verbum præmium servum	respicit."

[3] The coats of arms are (1) on the pediment, Codrington, quartering Tregarthin and Kelleway. (2) on the base, Codrington, impaling quarerly 1.4 sa. on a bend or between three pheons arg, three buckles gules, Stubbs. 2.3 lozengy arg. and sable? (3) Codrington. (4) arg., two squirrels addorsed gu. Samwell. The last coat, though there in Barrett's time, before the renovation in 1841, cannot be original, belonging as it does to the wife of the grandson of the subject of the memorial.

The parentage of Anne Stubbs is not ascertained. She is said in pedigrees to have been an heiress, and of a Norfolk family.

Of the sons of Robert Codrington and Anne Stubbs three are known:[1] *John*, his eldest (A 13); *Robert* (A 14), and *Christopher* (a 1), founder of the present Dodington family. Of the daughters, *Joyce* married, 1626, James *Prynne*, of Furnival's Inn, gent., one of the Prynnes of Swainswick, Bath; and *Frances* married Edward *Ernley*, of the Sussex and Wilts family of that name.

John, brother of Robert just commemorated, and son of Simon (A 9), was with the first settlers in Virginia, in 1606, and was also with Captain John Smith in the second Supply to Virginia, in 1608,[2] where he met with the approval of his famous captain. Returning to England, he was admitted of the Inner Temple, 16th July, 1616, as "John Codrington of Codrington, co. Glouc., gent." Thus he contributed complimentary verses to Smith's *Travels* as "Your sometime Souldier, J. Codrinton, now Templer." His will,[3] dated November 19th, 1622, shows him to have a house at Codrington and lands at Erlingham, co. Gloucester. He left no son.

[1] Probably Nicholas, a captain to whom payment of his arrears was ordered by Parliament, after 1647, was one.

[2] In the "Proceedings of the English colony in Virginia," by W. S. Oxford, 1612, he is called John Gudderington. We have seen that his father was one of the adventurers for Virginia. Smith, relating the discovery of a conspiracy of certain Dutchmen with King Powhattan, says: "This brute coming to the ears of the impatient multitude they so importuned the President to cut off those Dutchmen; as amongst many that offered to cut their throats before the face of Powhattan was Lieutenant Percy and Mr. John Cuderington, two gentlemen of as bold resolute spirit as could possibly be found." The President "had occasion of other employment for them."

[3] He is described as of the Inner Temple, Esq.; he gives his plate, jewels, household stuff, cattle, chattels and utensils in and about his house at Codrington to his wife Jane; and his rights and interest in lands at Codrington and Erlingham to her; 40s. to the poor of Wapley and Codrington; a gold ring and his bed gown to his friend Unton Croke; to his daughter Margaret 20s., to her daughter Sylvester 10s.

A 13. JOHN succeeded his grandfather Simon (A 9) in 1631. He was born in 1590, went to Oxford in 1604,[1] and as Simon's Inquisition shows, married April 19th, 1617, *Katherine Capell*, who died 26th September, 1629. This lady is described as daughter of Margaret Capell, but appears in the family pedigrees, and in the Calne window (see *supra*, p. 307), as Stocker.[2] She had one daughter, *Anne*, married in 1653 to Robert *Isaac*.[3]

He married secondly in 1632 at Pucklechurch,[4] *Anne*, elder daughter and co-heir of Nathaniel *Still* (son of John Still, Bp. of Bath and Wells) of Hulton, Co. Somerset, who brought that estate to her husband. Her daughters were, *Jane*, who married Samuel Codrington of Dodington (B 9); *Mary*, who married John *Browning*[5] of Coaley, co. Glouc.; *Elizabeth*, wife of Philip *Poore*; *Anne*, who married Southcote *Luttrell* of Saunton Court; she died 1685.

His third wife was *Frances*, daughter of William *Guise*[6] of

[1] Matriculated, John Codrington, Gloc., arm. fil. æt. 15, Balliol Coll., January 8th, 1604.

[2] Anthony Stocker, of Chilcompton, Somerset, married Margaret, daughter of Sir Arthur Capell, by Margaret, daughter of Lord John Grey of Pirgo, Essex. John Stocker, the grandfather of Anthony, married the co-heir of — Hales, of Kent, whose arms appear with the name of Stocker in the window at Calne.—Collinson, *Visitations*.

[3] Parish Register of West Down, or West Hill, N. Devon, 1653: "Robert Isaac, ye son of Francis Isaac, gent., and Ann Codrington, daughter of John Codrington, of Didmarton, Esqre., had their banns published Oct. 8 and 2 following Lord's Days, and were married 27th day of same month."

[4] Pucklechurch Register, 1632: "Mr. John Codrington and Mrs. Anne Steele, marr." Mary Still, sister of Anne, was wife of John Denys of Pucklechurch. The writer was told in 1852, at Codrington Court, that there had been once a marriage, in consequence of which a ghostly coach and six passed along an avenue of ash-trees between Codrington and Pucklechurch.

[5] Bigland, p. 401.—The date of her death on her monument in Coaley Church is 18th December 1698, aged 64.

[6] Sir John Maclean's *History of the Guise Family*, and Smyth's *Lives of the Berkeleys* gives William Guise among the descendants of James Lord Berkeley and Isabel Mowbray, one of the heiresses of Thomas of Brotherton, son of Edward I.

Elmore, by Cecily, daughter of J. Dennys of Pucklechurch. By this lady, he had Robert (A 15), John ob. 1674, William ob. 1696,[1] and three daughters, *Rachel*, married 1686 Colonel John *Courthope*[2]; and *Frances*, married to Thos. *Wyndham* of Witham, Somerset[3]; the third, Susannah, was buried at Wapley, 1674. Besides these, a small monument in Didmarton Church commemorates many others stillborn.

John Codrington escaped being warned for composition for Knighthood in 1631,[4] being in London. In 1638 he served the office of High Sheriff of Gloucestershire. A letter from him (Calendar of State Papers) remains, in which he says that he had with his best endeavours laboured to get in the arrears of ship money, but could not prevail. He was Deputy Lieutenant for the county in 1642. In 1643, April 1, he was appointed one of the Committee of Sequestrators of the Estates of Delinquents in Gloucestershire. In 1660 he signed an address of welcome to Charles II. from the gentry of Gloucestershire on the Restoration. He is buried in the Codrington chapel at Wapley, with the inscription, "John Codrington of Codrington, Esq., 1670." His widow died, July 2nd, 1676, and was buried at Witham, where is a monument to her memory. Her will was made November 11th, 1674.

A 14. ROBERT was one of the younger sons of Robert of Bristol (A 11), having been born in 1603. He was elected a Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1619, æt. 16.[5] He took his Degrees, as B.A. 1622, M.A. 1626. "Afterwards, upon his return from his travels, he lived in the quality of a gent. in

[1] Both were buried in the Codrington Chapel at Wapley. The Parish Register has: "Capt. William Codrington died Dec. 20, and being embalmed was buryed Dec. 29th, 1696." John matriculated at Merton Coll., Oxford, æt. 15, in 1669.

[2] Colonel Courthope fell at the siege of Namur, August, 1695. His widow lived with his sister at West Drayton, Middx.; died 1732, æt. 70. —Mr. Courthope, Somerset Herald.

[3] Wroughton MSS. She was mother of Hopton Wyndham.

[4] *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries*, 1892. Wm. Capell, Esqre., and John Codrington, Esqre., "now in London and not warned."

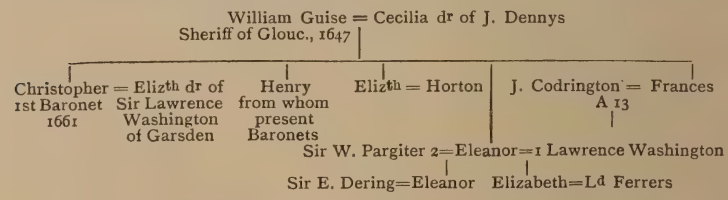
[5] He matriculated June 26th, 1621, æt. 19. gen. fil. Glouc.

Norfolk for several years, and there[1] took to him a wife. At length returning to London, he spent the remainder of his days—he died of the plague in London in 1665." (*Athenæ Oxonienses.*) He was author and translator of many books, few of any value. Among these is, *A Life and Death of Robert, Earl of Essex* in which, says à Wood, "he shews himself a rank Parliamenteir," and from which it may be gathered that he was in the field with the Parliamentary Army; a translation of *Ignoramus;* a translation of the *Heptameron of Marguerite de Valois;* the *Second Part of Youth's Behaviour*, a translation from the French[2]; a *Collection of Proverbs* and *Life of Æsop.* He was a Poet also, though none of his verses remain. A letter from him to Sir E. Dering[3] shows that he was imprisoned by the Parliament "for making an unfortunate choyce (to pleasure a poor fellow now in prison) to personate the late Earl of Strafford, speaking in those characters which I thought came nearest to the vehemence and vastnes of that unruly spirit." "Amongst the many hundreds of poems I have written, this is the first that hath given me an occasion to repent."

A 15. ROBERT, son and heir of John Codrington (A 13)

[1] This agrees with the account given of his mother's family as belonging to Norfolk. In a MS, pedigree a Robert Codrington (though one of the Dodington family) is said to have married "Herningham Dr. of Drewry, co. Norfolk."

[2] This is dedicated to Elizabeth, daughter of Lawrence Washington, and wife of the first Lord Ferrers of the Shirley family, his connection with whom and Sir E. Dering is thus shown :—



[3] The connection with Sir E. Dering is shown in the last note. He speaks in the letter of the sufferings caused by his imprisonment to his wife and children, and to the "many noble families" to whom he was "nearly allied."

and Frances Guise, was born in 1649. He was for a short time at Oxford as Fellow Commoner of Wadham College.[1] He married April 21st, 1674, Agnes daughter of Richard Samwell of Upton and Gayton, in Northants.[2] The Samwells, originally of Cornwall, were a considerable Northamptonshire family. Agnes Samwell was a sister of the first Baronet. Through her mother and grandmother her descent has been traced from many great families.[3]

This gentleman in the time of Atkyns had "a large house near the Church (at Didmarton), with pleasant gardens, and a great estate in this and other places of this County." The house, except one wing, has been destroyed by fire, and none of the estate remains with his posterity. Family tradition, with which dates do not agree, ascribes his misfortunes to the South Sea speculations. The Didmarton estate was sold, but both husband and wife were buried in the Church there. He died June 11th, 1717, and his wife October 25th, in the same year, aged 63.

The family of this pair were very numerous: one of their grandchildren used to say that her grandmother had "twice twenty-two children;" another wrote: "My grandfather Codrington had fifteen children Christianed."[4] These were,

[1] Robert Codrington admitted F.C. 4th May, 1666, Gloucester—fil. Johannis C. de Didmarton Gloucestr. arm. æt. 16. Withdrawn September, 1667.—Gardiner's *Register of Wadham College*.

[2] The Gayton parish register has "Robourt Cooaddoringtonn and Mrs. Agnes, his wife, was marryed April 21st." The marriage is also entered in the Wapley book. The marriage into a Northamptonshire family is accounted for by the connexion, through the Guises, with the Washingtons.

[3] Her mother was Frances, daughter and co-heir of Viscount Wenman, by Margaret, daughter of Edmund Hampden of Hartwell. Her grandmother, wife of Sir Richard Samwell, was Mary daughter of Sir Richard Verney of Compton by Mary Greville, sister and heir of Fulke Lord Brooke, and daughter of Anne Neville daughter of Ralph E. of Westmorland by a daughter of Stafford D. of Buckingham. Agnes Codrington was thus descended from three sons of Edward III. There are full accounts of the Samwell family in Burke's *Commoners*, and Baker's *Northamptonshire*.

[4] There are a few papers at Wroughton written by Mr. Oliver Calley, grandson of Robert Codrington (A 15), and son-in-law of R. Codrington (A 17), in which he mentions his relations on the Codrington side.

according to the Didmarton Register: Frances, baptized December 28th, 1675; Agnes, January 24th, 1676; *John* (A 16), January 10th, 1677; *Robert* (A 17), November 26th, 1678; Eliza, November 4th, 1679; Samuel, June 6th, 1681; Isabella, September 28th, 1682; Rachel, November 30th, 1683; Mary, February 2nd, 1684; Christopher, July 5th, 1686; William, August 18th, 1687: Dorothy, June 6th, 1689;[1] Richard, July 20th, 1691: Frances, September 19th, 1692; Penelope, February 28th, 1694. Of these many died young, some as children. William was in Holy Orders and a D.C.L. of Oxford.[2] *Eliza* married Charles Tyrrell, second son of Sir Thos. *Tyrrell*, Bart., of Thornton, Berks; *Agnes* married, at Wapley, November 13th, 1699, Charles *Scrope* of Castlecombe, Wilts; *Penelope*, married, April 15th, 1718, the Rev. William *Carey*, of Kirton Lindsey, Canon of Bristol; *Isabella* married Oliver *Calley*, of Burderop Park, Wilts.

A 16. JOHN, the son of the preceding, and the last of the family who lived at Codrington, inherited a diminished estate. Before his father's death he was twice married. His first wife[3] was twice a widow when he married her, at the age of 20, in 1697, at her second husband's place, Witham, Somerset. She was *Jane Giffard*, of Cannington. She died without children, February 6th, 1702.[4]

John Codrington married secondly, in 1709, *Elizabeth*,

[1] Mr. Calley's MSS.

[2] A tablet in Didmarton Church shows that Frances (the elder) and Christopher died in 1686. Samwell, as Mr. Calley once calls him, or Samuel, died in 1697, æt. 16, and was buried in St. Mary Overie's. William matriculated at Lincoln Coll., Oxford, æt. 17, in 1704; B.A., 1708; M.A., 1711; D.C.L., 1716. Since he was Grand Compounder, he must have had some fortune. He was, as Sprye says, of Hulton, Somerset.

[3] "My uncle Codrington's first wife's name was Giffard, and was a ward of Sir Haswell Tynte, who married her to his 2d son. She afterwards married Hopton Windham."—Mr. Calley. Hopton Wyndham was the son of Thomas Wyndham, of Witham, and Frances, daughter of John Codrington (A 13).

[4] On her monument in Witham Church, her arms are those of Giffard of Brimsfield impaled with Wyndham.

daughter and heiress of Samuel *Gorges*,[1] of Wraxall, Somerset; and with her became possessed of Wraxall, Nailsea, Flax Bourton, and Tickenham. The offspring of the marriage was four daughters, Elizabeth, ob. September 27th, 1735, æt. 25; Agnes, ob. July 30th, 1715; Rachel, ob. February 18th, 1717; and *Jane*, eventually heiress of her father and mother. Elizabeth Codrington died before her husband, February 13th, 1740, aged 51, and is buried in Wraxall Church, under a stone with arms.

Colonel John Codrington was M.P. for Bath in seven Parliaments, from 1710 to 1734. The streets were repaired and the Avon made navigable by his influence,[2] according to a Latin Poem called "Venatio," which gives an interesting picture of the hunting of the hare, fox, and stag of the time. His hunting-horn is still preserved at Wroughton, and his portrait at Dodington. He lived at Codrington and Wraxall, the latter being his hunting seat.[3] He died[4] in 1754, April 17th, aged 77.

[1] Samuel Gorges, ob. 1699, was the last of that branch of the ancient family, descended from Sir Theobald Russell, who marrying Eleanor Gorges, the heiress of Wraxall, took the name of Gorges in the reign of Edward III.

[2] "Illius, ante arctum, patefactum numine flumen
Veligeras patitur naves"——
"Illius, ante rotis obtrita, refecta viarum
Strata, ferunt volucres per saxa sonantia currus."

The Avon was made navigable by Act of Parliament in the tenth year of Queen Anne.

[3] "Nitidissimus extat
Nidulus in clivo, tuus o! labor inclyte Gorgi,
Nunc Codringtoni venatu accommoda sedes."—*Venatio.*

[4] Writers of family histories are desired to observe physical characteristics, and this can be done in one particular of some interest. The poem "Venatio" mentions the very tall stature of Col. John Codrington:

"Quorum procerrimus alto
Codringtonus equo longe supereminet omnes
Formâ equitatuque."

At the battle of Navarino (*Fights for the Flag*, 1898) Admiral Sir Edward Codrington stood on the quarter-deck of the *Asia* "tall as a mast," according to the Turkish Vice-Admiral, who instructed his riflemen "that the only hope of victory lay in shooting that tall Englishman." The common ancestor of these two died in 1618. The late General Robert Codrington, of Bath, six feet four in height, was one of three brothers equally tall. The common ancestor of the General and the Admiral lived in the 14th century.

Jane, the only surviving daughter, who had in 1742 married Sir Richard *Bamfylde*, of Poltimore, carried the properties of Codrington and Wraxall to her husband. She died in 1789; and her son, Sir Charles, sold the Gloucestershire estate in 1807 to Mr. Bethell Codrington, the then owner of Dodington.

A 17. The male line of the elder branch of the family was carried on by ROBERT, the brother of Col. Codrington (A 16), the last Codrington who inhabited the old house. He never became the representative of the family, since he died ten years before his brother. He is called "of Bath" in the MS. pedigrees. He married Anne, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Robert Allen, of Woodend, in Cromhall, with whom he had what is called by Bigland "an estate of consequence." He died March 3rd, 1744, at the age of 66, and was buried at Cromhall, where in the church is a monument to his memory.[1] His wife died June 11th, 1761, aged 73. He had three sons and two daughters. The descendants of the youngest son, ROBERT (A 18), alone remain in the condition of their ancestors. The eldest, *John*, was of Cromhall; an ancient property at Chipping Sodbury remained in the family of the second, *William*, who till lately lived on their own land there. Rachel, one of the daughters, died unmarried; the other, *Anne*, married her cousin, Oliver *Calley*, of Overtown, in Wroughton, and for many years survived her husband.

A 18. ROBERT, son of the last mentioned, was born at Cromhall, and baptised there July 19th, 1723. He married Mary *Stretton*, daughter of a Bristol merchant, and widow of George Webb, of Rownham Court, in Long Ashton, close to Bristol, by whom she had had a daughter, Mary Webb. He lived at Rownham. Mary Webb married her mother's cousin, Thomas Stretton, who survived his wife, and dying

[1] This monument was erected by his daughter, Mrs. Calley of Over town. Bigland mistakes the quartering, which is that of the coat of 1445 (*see* page 307) and ascribes them to "Small." In a pedigree at Wroughton Anne Allen is said to have been the widow of Robert Huntley.

childless, left his property to William (A 20) and Thomas Stretton Codrington, grandsons of Mary Stretton first mentioned. The children of Robert Codrington and Mary Stretton were *William* (A 19) and Dorothea, who married John Ralph, of Wotton Bassett, Wilts.

A 19. WILLIAM, born at Rownham, baptised July 24th, 1753, married Mary Palmer, daughter of John Lewsley, of Bristol, with whom he had a considerable fortune. He bought the estate at Wroughton, co. Wilts, and died in 1803. His children were William (A 20), of Wroughton; John Lewsley, of Woodhouse, co. Glouc., ob. s.p.; Thomas Stretton, Vicar of Wroughton, who married Elizabeth Jemima White, and left six sons; Oliver Calley, of Dean House, Hants, s.p.; Robert Stretton, ob. s.p.; and Ellinor, wife of the Rev. Edward Leigh Bennett.

A 20. WILLIAM of Wroughton married Letitia, daughter of William Wyndham of Dinton, Wilts, and had six sons and one daughter, who survives.

A 21. William-Wyndham, now of Wroughton, the eldest son, married Cecilia, daughter of Frederick Webb, of Westwick, co. Durham, and has issue.

II.

a. FAMILY OF CODRINGTON, BARONETS, OF DODINGTON.

The history of the branch of the Codringtons of Codrington (A), now of Dodington and Codrington, is found in books commonly accessible, and is therefore well known. The founder of it, who has been mentioned under his father's name,—a 1.—CHRISTOPHER, was one of the younger sons of Robert Codrington of Bristol (A 11). If he had been the second son, as generally stated, he must have been born before 1603 (*see* A 14), which is barely consistent with the known date of his death. He settled in the West Indies in the reign of Charles I.; at what date and under what

circumstances he went there does not appear.[1] After the Restoration he was Lieutenant-Governor of Barbados in 1668, and Commander-in-Chief in the Leeward Islands in 1670. By William III. he was appointed Governor of the Leeward Islands, and in that capacity distinguished himself against the French, from whom he recovered St. Christopher's, though he was unsuccessful in his expedition against Martinique in 1693. He died Captain-General of the Leeward Islands. His wife is not known. He left two sons, CHRISTOPHER (a 2) and JOHN (a 3).

a 2. CHRISTOPHER, the elder son, was born in Barbados in 1668. He came to Oxford in 1685,[2] and became Fellow of All Souls in 1689. He was in the West Indies in 1690 at the taking of St. Christopher's. Returning to Oxford, where he had obtained a reputation for almost universal accomplishment,[3] he joined from thence, in 1695, as a volunteer, the army of King William before Namur. There the King gave him a company of Guards. On the King's return to England he attended him to Oxford, and delivered an oration before him on behalf of the University. After the peace of Ryswick, his father being dead, he returned to the West Indies, and became, like his father, Captain-General and Governor of the Leeward Islands. In 1703 he failed in an expedition against Guadaloupe. He had been impeached in the House of

[1] When Dartmouth Castle was taken by the Parliamentary forces under Fairfax, in 1645, a Lieut.-Colonel Codrington was among the prisoners. It is possible that he went to the West Indies; but the Royalist prisoners were sent there into a bondage from which a man could hardly rise.

[2] He was 17 years of age when he matriculated at Christchurch, July 4th, 1685.

[3] "Here was not many years since one Mr. ———, in Oxford ———, to teach *riding the great horse*. Of whom (a known person) Colonel Codrington did learn of him to ride—wherein he was thought so good a proficient as to be accounted one of the best at that exercise of any in England.—The same Colonel, beside his skil in the *great horse*, is expert in dancing also to a high degree; both which accomplishments he learned at *Oxford*. He learned also at *Oxford* the *French*, *Spanish*, and *Italian* languages."—Dr. Wallis' Letter. *Collectanea*, *Oxford Historical Society*, 1885.

Commons in 1701, and honourably acquitted of all imputations. After his failure at Guadaloupe he resigned his employment, and retired to his house in Barbados, where he devoted the rest of his life to study, chiefly to Church History and Philosophy. He died, aged 42, on Good Friday, 1710. He was buried the next day, but in 1716 was again interred with Academical solemnity in the Chapel of All Souls, where a marble slab with the one word "Codrington" marks his grave. By his will[2] he left to the newly-founded Society for the Propagation of the Gospel two plantations in Barbados, to be kept up with at least 300 negroes, for the maintenance of a convenient number of Professors and Scholars, under vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, who were to be bound to "study and practice physic and chirurgery, as well as divinity, that they might endear themselves to the people, and have the better opportunity of doing good to men's souls, while they were taking care of their bodies." This foundation, after many delays and misfortunes, became the present Codrington College, in Barbados, which has again been overtaken by calamity.

To his College of All Souls,[1] of which he died a Fellow, he left his library, valued at £6,000, and a large sum to build the room in which it is preserved. This, after much delay, was finished in 1756. For his own tomb he left £20; for a monument to his father in Westminster Abbey, never put up, £500. He left his estates to his nephew William (A 2), having bought Dodington of Samuel Codrington (B 9).

There is no doubt that Christopher Codrington was an extraordinary man. In his short life he distinguished himself alike as a scholar and a soldier; but what is most remarkable

[1] The will of "Christopher Codrington, of Dodington, co. Glouc., Esqre., and chief Governor of the Leeward Islands," is dated February 22, 1702, and proved February 8, 17$\frac{10}{11}$. Further administration, April 30, 1714, to Col. Wm. Codrington. He names "my nearest kinsman, Col. William Codrington," "Samuel Codrington, of whom I bought Dodyngton."

[2] The picture in the Hall, and the statue in the library, of All Souls do not appear to be portraits; they are unlike the picture at Dodington.

is the impression he left on his contemporaries that there was no branch of learning or line of life in which he might not have reached the highest eminence.

a 3. JOHN, the younger son of the first Christopher, was Colonel of the Life Guards in Barbados and Privy Councillor. He married the daughter of Col. Bates of that Island, and dying before his brother,[1] left his son *William* his heir.

a 4. WILLIAM succeeding to his uncle's property, took up his abode at Dodington, and was created a Baronet in 1721. He was M.P. for Minehead, and Gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber. He married *Elizabeth*, daughter and heir of William *Bethell*, Esq., of Swindon, Yorkshire, by whom he had WILLIAM his heir, John Archibald of Bath, ob. 1759, EDWARD (A 7), and three daughters, married respectively to — Cox of Bartlett's Buildings, William Dowdeswell of Pull Court, and — Pennyman. Sir William died December 17th, 1738, and his wife February 5th, 1761.

a 5. Sir WILLIAM, second baronet, married Anne Acton. He was M.P. for Tewkesbury. He died March 11th, 1792. He was succeeded in his title by his son, and in his estates by his nephew.

a 6. Sir WILLIAM, third baronet, was completely disinherited by his father. He married, 1776, Mary, daughter of the Hon. William Ward, and by her had no issue. He was arrested on a visit to France, and confined during the Terror in the Conciergerie. His narrative in a letter to his sister has been printed. He spent the latter years of his life in France. On his death in 1816 he left a son *William Raymond*, who was legally recognized as the fourth baronet, and was succeeded by his son the present Sir *William*, fifth baronet.

a 7. EDWARD, the second surviving son of the first baronet, married Rebecca L'Estourgeon of Mortlake, and died in France in 1775, leaving three sons, *Christopher* (a 8), William

[1] Sir J. Maclean mentions "John Codrington of Antigua, bach. decd. Administration Aug. 14th, 1602, to Archd. Hutchinson, Attorney for Colonel Christopher Codrington, Esq., brothers of deceased." In this "bach" for bachelor must be a mistake, as is 1602 for 1702.

John who took the name of Bethell, and *Edward* (a 9) the Admiral.

a 8. On the death of the second baronet, his estates descended to his nephew CHRISTOPHER, who, as heir to his grandmother, had assumed the name of Bethell. On the death of his cousin, the third baronet, he claimed the baronetcy, and, resuming his paternal name, became Sir Christopher Bethell Codrington. The history of the controversy and litigation which followed is to be found in Nichols' *Herald and Genealogist*, vol. iv. Although the decision of the Courts was against him, Sir Bethell maintained his claim to the title, and transmitted it to his son. Whether he was wise in ignoring a legal decision may be questioned; but he had certainly reason to believe in the illegitimacy of his cousin's son. This gentleman sat in four Parliaments for Tewkesbury. He pulled down the old house and the church at Dodington, and rebuilt both at very great expense from the designs of the architect Wyatt. He added considerably to his estates by the purchase of Wapley and Codrington from Sir Charles Bamfylde, and other property.[1] He married Caroline, daughter of the second Lord Foley, and was succeeded by his son *Christopher William*. This gentleman claiming, with very general recognition, to be fifth baronet, sat for many years as one of the Members for his County. He married Lady Georgiana Somerset, second daughter of the seventh Duke of Beaufort. He died in July, 1864, and was succeeded by his elder son, Gerald William Henry. Sir GERALD, who received a new patent of baronetcy in 1876, married Lady Sibyl Denison, daughter of the Earl of Londesborough, and has a son and heir, *Christopher*, the sixteenth in male descent of the known members of the Codrington family.

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1817: "Sir C. Bethell Codrington, Bart., has recently purchased the whole of the freehold and leasehold estates the property of Jeremiah Hill, Esqre., of Bristol, for £45,000, situate at Wapley and other parishes in Gloucestershire; and from their contiguity this acquisition makes Sir Bethell's estate extend upwards of 15 miles in one continued line."

No notice of the Codrington family would be complete without further mention of its most distinguished members.

a 9. *Edward*, brother of Sir Bethell, whose naval career opened at the battle of the 1st of June, 1794, who was Captain of the *Orion* at Trafalgar, and commanded the combined fleets of England, France, and Russia at Navarino in 1827, has an eminent place among British Admirals. He was G.C.B., and member of many foreign orders. Of his two sons, Sir William John, G.C.B., was Commander-in-Chief of the forces in the Crimea, and afterwards Governor of Gibraltar; and the second was Admiral Sir Henry Codrington, K.C.B. The son of Sir William is Colonel Alfred Edward Codrington of the Coldstream Guards.

B. THE JUNIOR BRANCH OF THE CODRINGTON FAMILY, OF FRAMPTON-ON-SEVERN AND DODINGTON.

B 1. The founder of this ancient branch is no doubt THOMAS Codrington, who married *Elizabeth*, daughter of Sir Robert *Poyntz* of Iron Acton. In the Pedigree of the Visitation of 1573, he is made son of Robert of Didmarton, which is an evident mistake (*see* A 9, page 318). In a Pedigree in the Heralds' College, he is made son of John the Standard Bearer (A 1), and still the husband of Elizabeth Poyntz. But that he was the son of Robert of Sodbury, and brother of John (A 1), is stated in all other Pedigrees. The date of his death is given in one as 1427, which agrees very well with that position, since John was born in 1364.[1]

B 2. AMBROSE is given as the son of Thomas (B 1) and

[1] Sir J. Maclean, in his account of the Poyntz Family, in vol. xii. of these Reports, shows Robert Poyntz to have died in 1439, but does not show a daughter Elizabeth. Thomas, brother of John, who was born 1364, belongs to an earlier generation than John Codrington (A 2), who, according to Sir J. Maclean, married a granddaughter of Robert Poyntz. It is evident also that Ambrose (B 2) belongs to an earlier generation than that of the grandchildren of John the Standard Bearer (A 1).

Elizabeth Poyntz. He is said in the *Visitation* to have died in the sixth year of Henry VI.[1]

B 3. WILLIAM is probably the name of the member of this family who married Mary Teste, and with her acquired the estate at Frampton-on-Severn, which became the seat of his descendants. Pedigrees, however, give the names of Ambrose (B 2) and Francis (B 4) to the husband of this lady. But since the date does not suit Ambrose, and the marriage of Francis in another generation is clear, it can hardly be doubted that William is right.[2]

Whatever was the name of the member of this family who married *Mary Teste*, she certainly brought with her the representation of a branch of the Clifford family,[3] and a very considerable estate at Frampton-upon-Severn, and in Cowley or Coaley, both co. Gloucester. John Clifford had a daughter and heir, Alice, who married William Teste. Their son, Lawrence, who died 23rd Henry VII., was father of John, ob. s.p. the same year, of Giles, a clerk, ob. 34th Henry VIII., and of Grace, Margaret, and Mary. The inheritance came to *Mary*, who was the mother of FRANCIS Codrington next mentioned.

B 4. FRANCIS, of Frampton, married *Margaret*, daughter and eventually co-heiress of William *Shipman*[4] of Bristol.

[1] Yet he is made to marry Margaret Teste, whose father died in the 23rd of Henry VII.

[2] In Sir J. Maclean's MS. notes the heiress of Teste is once, from the Harleian MS., shown to marry William and three times Francis the father of Giles. It will be seen that Francis (B 4) the father of Giles is not the man. A MS. pedigree belonging to the late Rev. R. C. Codrington makes the heiress of Teste marry Ambrose and be the father of Francis (B 4). Perhaps the name of the man who married Mary Teste was Francis, but he certainly was not father of Giles.

[3] Drogo the son of Pons held Frampton at the Domesday Survey From Drogo's brother Richard descended the Cliffords; from Drogo the Poyntz family. The grandsons of Richard were Walter, from whom the Cliffords, Earls of Cumberland, and Richard from whom the Cliffords of Frampton. Cliffords in the male line remained at Frampton till 1684, according to the monument there of John Clifford "masculorum antiquissimi nominis Cliffordiani infrà hanc parochiam ultimi."

[4] The *Shipman* of Bristol, 300 tons, with others, was in Henry VIII.'s fleet at Boulogne, named probably after the owner.

He was himself Sheriff of Bristol in 1544. His will, dated August 10th, 1557, describes him as a merchant of St. Werburgh's parish, Bristol. He names his father- and brother-in-law, William and John Shipman; leaves his wife Margaret all his goods in his house in Small Street and half his plate; to his son and heir, GILES (B 5), half his plate and the goods in his mansion house in Frampton-upon-Severn.[1]

B 5. GILES, son and heir of the preceding, was of Frampton and also of Pucklechurch. He married *Isabella*, daughter of Arthur *Porter*, whose descent from the Berkeleys is set forth by Smith.[2] It was by this gentleman, according to Atkyns, that Dodington was bought. His will describes him as of Pucklechurch. His children, FRANCIS, RICHARD, Anne,[3] seem to have been young at his death, since Richard Arnold is to look to their bringing up. He signs himself Gyles Codrintonne. The date is May 6th, 1577.

[1] This was no doubt the Mr. Cowdrington with whom Sir William Sharington of Lacock appointed for the payment of £100 in the 4th of Edw. VI. *Wilts Magazine*, December, 1893: "The ancient house of timber frame (at Frampton), now occupied as a barn, has arms emblazoned in the window:—1. a fess counterembattled sa. between three lions pass. gu. (Codrington). 2. Codrington impaling Sable, on a chevron or, between three falcons rising arg. as many roundlets. 3. Clifford. A cypher F.C., Francis Codrington, is very curiously flourished."—Bigland.

[2] The pedigree is as follows:—

James, 11th Lord Berkeley = Isabel, daughter of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, E. Marshal, &c., and Elizabeth, co-heir of Thomas Fitzalan, E. of Arundel

Richard Arthur of Clapton, Somerset = Alice, 3d daughter

John Arthur = Margaret, dr of John Butler of Badminton

Roger Porter = Margaret

Arthur Porter = Alice, dr of John Arnold

Sir Thos. Porter of Llanthony — Isabel = Giles Codrington

Sir J. Maclean noted the Royal descent through Mowbray from Thomas of Brotherton.

[3] Another daughter Cecily in the Wroughton pedigree is shown as the wife of William Ruswell of Dunkerton, Somerset.

B 6. The elder son of Giles was FRANCIS, who was of Frampton, and after whom, for want of a son, that property left the Codrington family. He married *Mary*, daughter of Sir Nicholas *Poyntz* of Iron Acton, and left a daughter, *Margaret*, who married, first Edward *Bromwich*, and secondly John Sydenham. Her daughter, Margaret Bromwich, succeeded to the Frampton and Coaley property.[1] In his will, dated August 25, 1581, to which Symon Codrington (A 9) was witness, he is described as Francis Codrington of Frampton-upon-Severn, gentleman. He gives 10s. to the poor of Frampton, and 10s. to the poor of Pucklechurch, where also he mentions his lands. "I doe acknowledge and confess that the goods and cattells which were my late father's and hath been in the possession and occupation of me Francis, the right and property thereof wholly to appertain to my mother." Marie, his wife, is his executrix. His wife married secondly John Sydenham of Nimpsfield, co. Gloucester. Her will is dated February 4th, 1590.[2]

B 7. RICHARD, second son of Giles (B 5), continued the male line of the family. He succeeded to property at Pucklechurch, and, according to deeds formerly at Dodington,[3] bought that estate from Lord Powis for £6,000. It was

[1] Isaac Bromwich, son of Edward, was living in 1639. Margaret Codrington married secondly William Sheppard.

[2] She leaves to her daughter Margaret Codrington bedding at her house at Frampton at the time of the decease of her first husband; and to the same—with Ann and Ursula—the chest and napery given her by her late father Sir Nicholas Poyntz. The will of Sir Nicholas, June 22nd, 1585, gives "to my daughter Sydenham a Dansic coffer, called "my ladie's chest."

[3] Sprye. Atkyns says that Giles (B 5) bought it from Nicholas Weekys. The old house at Dodington was built by Robert Wykes, born 1506, who had inherited the property from the Berkeleys. He ruined himself in building the house. Leland says: "Part of Drissilege (Dursley) Castle was brought to make the new house of Dodington. The olde place of Dodington within the Mote by the new." Sir Bethell Codrington (A 8) pulled down Wykes' house. It is represented in drawings by Turner now at Dodington, where also remain a flight of cedar steps from the old house (now leading from the hall to the gallery and the Church) and a set of tapestry hangings, both from the old house.

no doubt he who was charged £20 in the subsidy raised in 1607.[1] His arms, as of Pucklechurch, were confirmed by Camden with the quarterings of Clifford, Test, and Shipman.[2] The wife of Richard Codrington was Joyce (Jocosa) Burlace, or Burlacey, or Borlase, daughter of John Burlace, of Little Marlow, Bucks (ob. 1593), by Anne, daughter and co-heir of Sir R. Lytton of Knebworth.[3] They had five sons: SAMUEL (B 8) of Dodington, and RICHARD (B 9) of Dyrham; with whom this family parted into two divisions; the fifth, *Thomas*, Rector of Keynsham, married Anne, daughter of John Scrope, of Castle Combe;[4] *William*; and *Robert*, who (according to a MS. pedigree) married Herningham, daughter of — Drury of Norfolk. The daughters were—*Anne*, who married Edward *Goddard* of Berwick Bassett;[5] *Isabel*, ob. 1675, married Samuel *Stokes* of Stanshaw; *Frances*, married — *Cresswell* of Heckfield, co. Southampton; *Joyce*, married — *Doune* of co. Carmarthen.

Richard Codrington was buried at Dodington, September 28th, 1613. His wife was buried at the same place, March 23rd, 1635. In her will, in which she is called "Jocosa," she mentions the wives of her sons Samuel and Richard, and a "daughter Hinton," not among those above mentioned, and her brother Sir William Borlase.

B 8. SAMUEL Codrington[6] succeeded to Dodington. He

[1] He is described as of Codrington, but see Simon (A 9).

[2] The arms as figured in the Heralds' Book represent the fess as simply embattled, and place the crest on a wreath instead of on a coronet. The arms of Clifford of Frampton are chequy or and azure, on bend gules three lions passant or; of Teste, azure three men's heads proper, helmeted or; of Shipman, or, a chevron engrailed between three anchors, sable.

[3] See the account of the arms in a window at Calne in vol. xviii. of these *Transactions*.

[4] Scrope's *History of Castle Combe*. Calne window.

[5] Dodington Register, 1614. Edward was son of John Goddard, of Clyffe Pypard and Berwick. Wilts Inquisitions. Anne survived her husband, and was living 1636.

[6] From the MS. Pedigree of the late Rev. R. C. Codrington. In Sir J. Maclean's MS., and in the account of the Calne windows, this gentleman is confused with his son, who married Jane Codrington. Sir J. Maclean, however, gives the dates of the birth and death of two Samuels.

was born in 1599, and was buried at Dyrham in June, 1676. He married *Elizabeth*, daughter of Thomas *Stephens* of Lypiat, who was buried at Dyrham, February 24th, 1687, æt. 82. Besides *Samuel* (B 9) they had *Richard* the elder son, and a daughter Elizabeth, both s.p.

B 9. SAMUEL was baptised October, 1628. He married in 1650, *Jane*, daughter of John Codrington of Codrington (A 13), by his wife Anne Still.[1] It was this gentleman who sold Dodington to his kinsman Christopher Codrington (a 2). His only son Richard died an infant. Sir Isaac Heard, Garter King of Arms, descended from his daughter Elzabeth.[2]

B 10. RICHARD, the younger son of Richard of Dodington (B 7) and Joyce Burlace, is the ancestor of the Codringtons afterwards settled in Somersetshire. He married *Joan*, daughter of William *Wyrrall*[3] of Bicknor. He is buried in Dyrham Church,[4] where also his widow was buried in 1662.

B 11. RICHARD, born 1630, died at Bristol; his wife's name was Alice.[5] His brother was Rev. Thomas Codrington, Rector of Dodington, who died in 1675 æt. 44. This latter married Hester Plummer, and had a large family, one of whom, *Richard*, was Rector of Dodington in 1693, ob. 1732; and another, *William*, was of Bristol.[6]

[1] Dodington Register. This lady was courted by John Aubrey. *Short Lives.*

[2] Pedigree of Rev. R. C. C. as above. *West Country Stories*, W. H. Rogers, 1895. The daughter Elizabeth married Edward Rowe; their daughter Elizabeth married Benjn. Mitchell of Branscombe, Devon, whose daughter, again Elizabeth, married John Heard, and was mother of Sir Isaac.

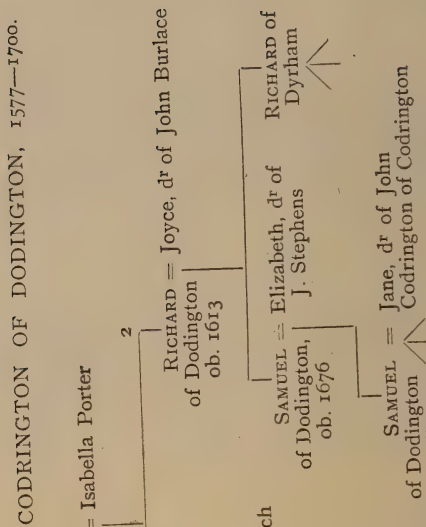
[3] There is a pedigree of Wyrhall in vol. i. of these *Transactions*.

[4] The inscription on the tomb at Dyrham is recorded as "Here resteth the body of Richard Codrington, of ——, Esq., who departed this life May 20th, 1635." The Dyrham register, however, has "1635. Richard Codrington Clericus predicatus sepultus fuit," who cannot apparently be the same. The register for 1662 gives "Mrs. Johan Codrington, widow."

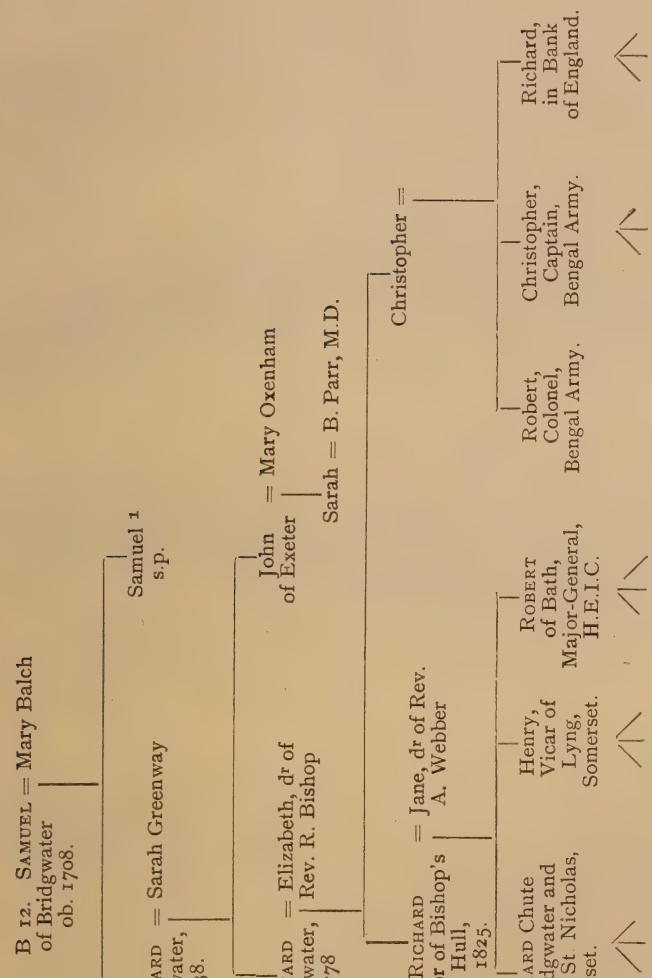
[5] Sir J. Maclean's notes cease with Richard (B 10) and Joan Wyrral. The succeeding generations are taken from pedigrees and notes made by the late Rev. R. C. Codrington.

[6] His will, January 16th, 1718, describes him as Mercer of Bristol.

OUTLINE PEDIGREE OF CODRINGTON OF DODINGTON, 1577—1700.



B 12. SAMUEL, the son of Richard (B 11), was of Bridgwater, where he died 1708. His descendants are shewn as follows :—



[1] His will, May 12th, 1746, describes him as Mercer of Bridgwater; he names his nephews Richard, John, and Samuel.

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OF

ARCHÆOLOGICAL PAPERS

PUBLISHED

IN

1897

[BEING THE SEVENTH ISSUE OF THE SERIES AND COMPLETING THE INDEX FOR THE PERIOD 1891–97]

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE CONGRESS OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES IN UNION WITH THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.

1898

HARRISON AND SONS,
PRINTERS IN ORDINARY TO HER MAJESTY,
ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON.

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NOTE.

The value of this Index to archæologists is now recognised. Every effort is made to keep its contents up to date and continuous, but it is obvious that the difficulties are great unless the assistance of the societies is obtained. If for any reason the papers of a society are not indexed in the year to which they properly belong the plan is to include them in the following year; and whenever the papers of societies are brought into the Index for the first time they are then indexed from the year 1891.

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To make this work complete an index of the transactions from the beginning of archæological societies down to the year 1890 needs to be published. This Index is already completed in MS. form, and the first part will be ready by March next.

Societies will greatly oblige by communicating any omissions or suggestions to

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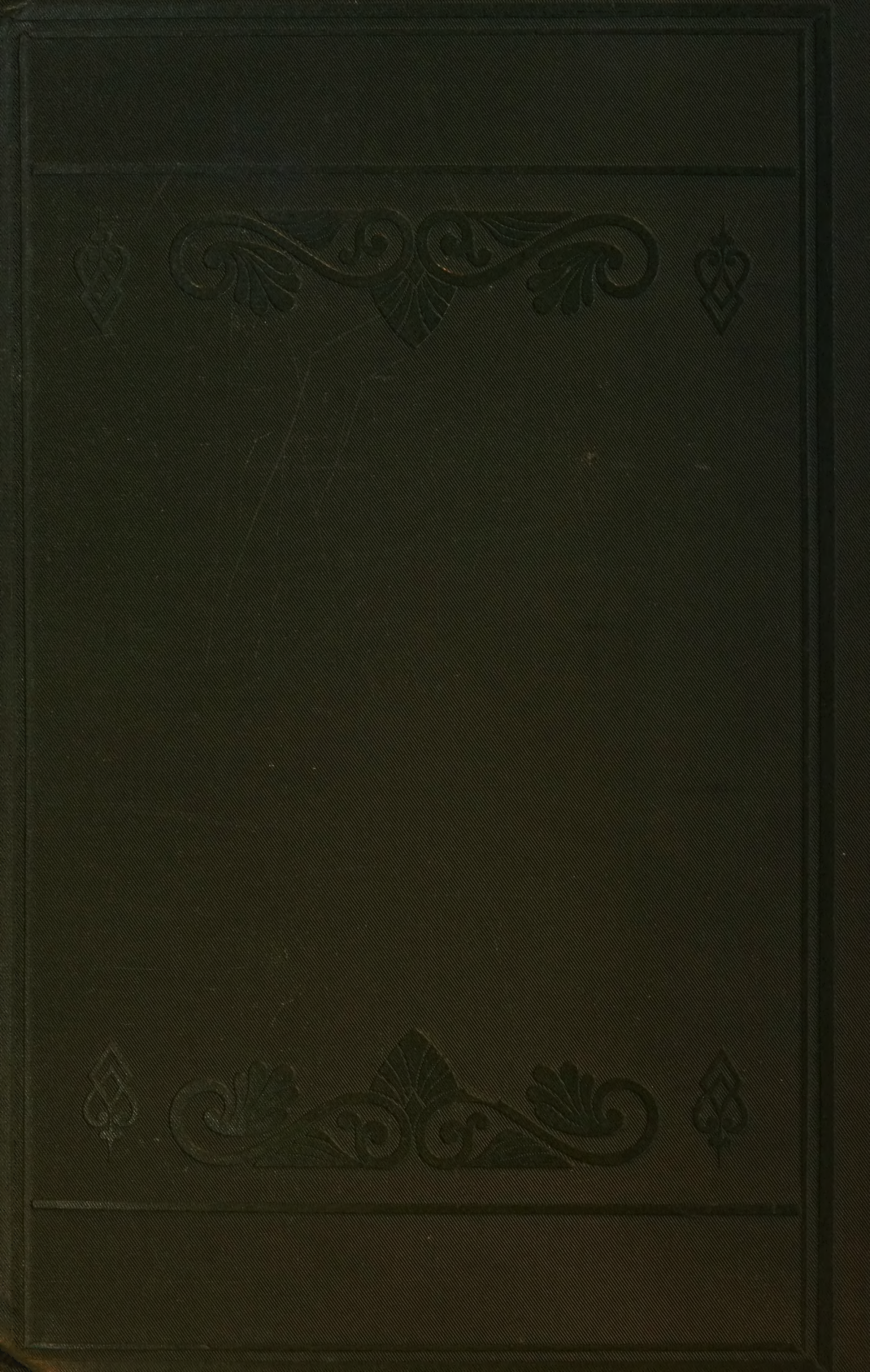
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